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Chronicles of Oklahoma

VOLUME 3 NO. 1 APRIL, 1924

BATTLE OF THE WASHITA

The age old struggle between civilization and the savage broke out afresh on the western plains in the year 1867. The White Man's Destiny that for two hundred years had been creeping westward from the Atlantic coast like a mighty juggernaut, was now lumbering across the plains that stretch in undulating altitudes from the Missouri river to the Rocky Mountains—as it had crept, a thousand years before, across the plains and valleys of Europe.

No banner emblazoning the motto, "To the Survival of the Fittest" was flouted from the juggernaut, but it was the spirit of the White Man's Destiny—it was ingrained in each individual white soul. Grimly, determinedly and mercilessly, although piously, the juggernaut moved on crushing under its wheels every ancient right and privilege of the savage nomads whose untutored minds could not comprehend the "benevolent assimilation" that was graciously intended.

From the Dakotas on the north, to the Arkansas River on the south, these Plains Indians once owned the lands westward to the granite ribbed Rockies; even further where ancient craters had spewed their lavas over other domains; where mountain snows fed streams of rushing waters, that, collecting into grand channels, wound their ways down across those plains to the sea, laving the parched earth, giving succor and refreshment to all living things.

Now these are gone. Little by little the White Man has prevailed upon the savage to give, give, give. Empires in exchange for baubles. Alluring promises made to children—promises never understood and seldom ever kept. It is a dangerous thing to take advantage of children by alluring promises. Some day the children will understand.

Now, the Plains Indians understood that their lands were gone. The Whites were settling upon them. The buffalo, the beaver, the deer and the antelope would go with the White Man's coming. White Man's civilization and wild game are not compatible elements.

Brooding over the wrongs done him—over the loss of an empire where once he was lord and master—reduced to accepting terms where each succeeding treaty crowds him into smaller areas and upon reservations where his noble qualities wither, and shrivel, and die for want of scope and action; deprived of game and the chase; deprived of liberty and freedom of movement, that most precious gift of savage and civilized alike—

All these things were bad enough, but to see the Whites with puling broods squatting on their erst-owned lands; building cabins and dugouts, breaking up the sod, and driving off the game, while the red man, reduced to poverty and under serveillance, must rot out his life on the reservation, his activities confined to begging bacon and blankets—these things would have made him savage had not Nature already shaped him so. It was only natural that his savage soul rebelled—that he sought to be revenged in the most savage way.

So it was, in that year 1867, the Plains Indians went on the warpath—sporadically, fitfully, surreptitiously, but nevertheless on the warpath. With savage cunning and duplicity some of them hung about the agencies making professions of friendship, and begging for annuities and rifles. Some of the old men who had witnessed the ever progressing juggernaut, who had learned from wise men long since dead the futility of opposing its oncoming, counselled against war. It is young men who make war—and it was young men on the warpath now.

With the first depredations committed, the Government sent General Hancock to protect the frontier—Hancock the Superb, who had faced Lee's veterans in a hundred unnamed skirmishes greater than any Indian battle of history. With him went Custer who had won his spurs and a major general's commission before he was twenty-five years of age; who next to Sheridan was the greatest cavalry officer produced on the Northern side during the then recent war.

The battle ground was an empire where the best horsemen in the world, mounted on the best horses in the world, moved like phantoms across the billowy plains, swooping down on a frontier settlement to wreak brutal vengeance and to satisfy savage lust; to disappear like the mirage; to laugh at superior numbers; to play hide and seek with the lumbering cavalry horses.

All through the latter part of that year 1867 the Indians took a terrible toll from the Whites. Blackened ruins marked the spots where once stood frontier homes—sable memorials of holocausts and tragedies that brought pallor to cheeks of the bravest pioneers. Scalps dangled from tepee poles, proud trophies of exultant savages—revolting testimonials of fiends incarnate. Pale faced women of that hated civilization far away in Indian villages slaved for savages, and captive children were dragged back to the era of history's dawn.

Up and down, here and there, the best cavalry in America followed trails in vain. They rushed to the call for help, only to find that the savages had been there; had slaughtered and burned—and gone. Up the Platte, down the Republican, south on the Smoky Hill, and down on the Arkansas it was all the same. Custer, the fiery, dashing cavalier coursed the prairies, his efforts equalling the sanguinary campaigns in the Shenandoah. Only a few skirmishes resulted—Indian blood is elusive.

But Custer is learning. He seeks every opportunity to meet Indians. He talks to them—studies them. Makes friends of them when he can. He too, loves the great open spaces. The spirit of savage ancestors flames anew in his breast as he senses the "Call of the Wild." He loves the chase—whether buffalo or savage be the quarry. Although suspended from active service for some alleged violation of military rules, the close of the year found Custer the ablest Indian fighter on the plains.

Ninety-five enlisted men and five officers killed; fifty-eight citizens murdered; twenty soldiers wounded, women and children carried into captivity; hundreds of homes burned and hundreds of livestock stolen—these constituted the toll taken by the Indians that year. This is of those recorded. No one will ever know the number of those who are still among the missing.

The Indians were slow in moving out on the warpath in the spring and summer of 1868. There was another war in progress and the Indians became the recipients of unsolicited allies. It was a war between the Interior Department and the military branch of Government. Indian agents, traders, and those who profited by Indian trade, started a drive against General Hancock, charging that he had precipitated the Indian depredations by his bungling attitude towards them.

The Indians hung around the agencies. They wanted arms and ammunition, for they could not go out against the white men with bows and arrows. They did not say so—leave it to the Indian to play a shrewd and cunning game.

Owing to the depredations committed by them the previous summer and fall, the War Department demanded that no more arms or ammunition be issued the Indians. The agents protested, charging that it was the withholding of arms that had angered the savages and provoked them to commit depredations. Traders and profiteers added their protests to withholding arms and annuities.

Peace commissioners appeared on the scene. Long pow wows were held, and the "Orators of the Plains" made long winded speeches. One chieftain dwelt long and eloquently upon the wrongs done the Indians. He defied and boasted, and threatened. Another one assured the commissioners and agents that his people realized it was useless to rebel. They had learned that the white man's ways were good, and would accept them—only they needed rifles to kill the buffalo. Their young men were hot headed and were peeved because they had not received their rifles; but they would listen to the counsel of the chieftains. Give them their annuities and arms, and all would be well.

Interior department officials whose bosoms were overflowing with the milk of human kindness listened to these unsophisticated children of the plains. They also listened to the side speeches of traders, agents who worked with traders, and to profiteers, who were staging the play. They became convinced that General Hancock and the War Department had blundered—that they did not understand these good-hearted people.

Eastern newspapers seized upon the issue and roundly denounced General Hancock, whose civil war laurels were yet fresh upon his brow; denounced the War Department, and loudly asserted that if the Indian question were left to the Interior Department and Indian agents there would be no war. "There are two classes of people who are always eager to get up an Indian war—the army and our frontiersmen," a prominent New York paper said.

They might have asked the owners of hundreds of burned and ruined homes on the frontier, how much they wanted war. They might have asked the women, who, outraged in body and spirit, slaved for Indian masters in villages far away, how much they and their families had wanted war. But these were not interviewed.

Those in charge of the administration of government are as susceptible to vibrant public sentiment, especially when that sentiment is magnified by editorial amplifiers, as a seismograph is to earth tremors. The military arm of the Government was rebuked. Its Indian program passed into the shadow.

It was nearing the middle summer season when definite understanding was had. Then the arms and ammunition were delivered. In a letter dated August 10, 1868, Indian Agent E. W. Wynkoop writes Thomas Murphy, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, that he has just delivered rifles and ammunition to the Cheyennes. "They were delighted at receiving the goods," he says, and adds, "They have now left for their hunting grounds and I am perfectly satisfied that there will be no more trouble with them this season." Arapahoes received arms August 1st.

Within twenty-four hours after receiving arms and ammunition, warriors from these very tribes, with the arms delivered them as above related, were on their way towards the Saline and Solomon rivers in Kansas where they murdered men, ravished women, burned homes, stole live stock, and carried women and children into captivity.

The cupidity of commerce and the cunning of savagery had made common cause. Again the smouldering ruins of frontier homes; festering bodies of brave pioneers; wrecks of womanhood ravished, and mangled forms of little children—these were the price.

Now Kansas 'roused from her short respite since the war—Kansas that fought off invaders who would plant slavery on her soil—Kansas that was settled by a race of fighting people who were still virile and bellicose when the rights of Kansans were trodden upon. Kansas has a way of making herself heard. A regiment was raised to protect her frontier. If the Government was more interested in agents and traders than in the men and women who were extending the limits of civilization, Kansas would protect them.

The Indian agents and Interior Department went into disfavor. The military was given authority to act. General Phil Sheridan was placed in charge of the military department which embraced the territory involved. There would be no temporizing now. Sheridan, who had fought such men as Stuart and Early and the veterans of Jackson and Lee.

One of the first things he did was to call for Custer—who had been court martialed and suspended—and asked that he be restored to command. It was Custer who had been Sheridan's most trusted lieutenant in the Shenandoah; who had led the charge a hundred times—who had never failed him—who was always on the front; who was on the front at Appomatox when Lee sent his first note with a flag of truce to Grant, which Custer received and delivered.

These two soldiers of action met and discussed the situation. They decided on a winter campaign. No use of chasing elusive phantoms over this empire of plains. Custer had had his fill of that the year before. You can't play "pussy wants a corner" in a forty acre field. When the Indian pony is poor and thin; when he is weak from want of nourishing food; when the warrior is hibernating along the banks of Southern streams—then is the time to strike with vengeance.

Was it cruel? Surely it was. Did not a great master of battle say "War is hell?" Those bringing on war must not brush these things aside lightly. This same "Master of Battle" was the guiding spirit in the War Department, and after reviewing the details of a recent Indian massacre he wrote, "We must act with vindicative earnestness, even to their extermination, men, women and children. Nothing else will reach the root of the case."

What other argument could be made to savages who practiced murder and rapine—extermination of all the white race they were able to lay hands on? For the year 1868, from the time arms were delivered the Indians up to the time Sheridan and Custer decided on a winter campaign the toll taken by the Indians was 154 killed, sixteen wounded, four women and twenty-four children carried into captivity. In addition 958 homes had been burned, sacked and plundered. Nearly all of these depredations were committed against the frontier settlements of Kansas.

It was to be war of extermination. Savages know no other kind. Such a war only would bring them to their senses. With all our cant and hypocracy the old Mosaic law, "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," is still the controlling rule of human action. The more highly civilized we are, the more eyes and teeth we demand for retribution. No matter the grievance nurtured in savage breasts, no matter how just the cause of that grievance, murder, rape, pillage and captivity committed against innocent men and women wholly without protection is without justification of any kind.

So the generals in charge of military operations against the Indians contended—and so they planned their operations.

Winter set in earlier than usual in that year of 1868. Early frosts turned the grass into inert, substanceless provender. Warriors could no longer follow the war path with no feed for ponies. They must get to the southland and establish winter quarters. This they did, setting up their villages on the banks of the Washita, in the then Indian Territory. It is Oklahoma now, where the town of Cheyenne is situated. Here the allied tribes of the plains, the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, Kiowas and Plains Apaches pitched their tents. Here the hundreds of warriors would idle away the winter months, boasting of adventures and recounting the deeds committed against the Whites.

In the northwestern part of the state of Oklahoma two streams of the plains coming together form the North Fork of the Canadian River. Beaver Creek far up on the plains, flows in an easterly direction until past the hundreth degree of longitude when it turns southward. Wolf Creek, south of the Beaver, rises in the Texas Panhandle and flowing in a northeasterly direction, connects with the latter stream at the exact geographical location of latitude 36 degrees, 30 minutes; longitude, 99 degrees 30 minutes.

At the confluence there is a wide level valley, which as one looks up streams, widens out into a V shape. Here was chosen the site to be used as base of supplies for Indian winter campaign. It was named Camp Supply. Since the advent of statehood, Oklahoma has established an asylum for the insane upon this beautiful and historic spot.

General Custer reached Camp Supply November 19, 1868, and proceeded at once to make ready for the march farther south into the Indian country. General Sully who was in command of that district, and under whose command Custer was, accompanied the expedition to Camp Supply. He brought, in addition to Custer's Seventh Cavalry, some companies of foot for the protection of the wagon train which numbered four hundred.

Two days after reaching Camp Supply General Sheridan produced a stir by riding into camp with a small escort. If there had been any doubt about a winter campaign, such doubts were now put to rest. General Sully was relieved of command, and Sheridan took the direction of the campaign into his own hands. There was a long conference between Custer and his chief. Together they went over all the maps at their command. The result was that twenty-four hours after he arrived in camp Sheridan issued orders to Custer to move with the Seventh Cavalry further south into the Indian country, to locate the winter quarters of the hostiles, and administer such punishment as was in his power to do.

For several weeks Custer had been preparing for the campaign now to begin. He had organized a company of forty sharpshooters, with full complement of officers. He had taken into the service some of the most noted and able scouts of the plains, prominent among whom were California Joe and Jack Corbin. He also had with great care selected a dozen or more Indian scouts among whom were Little Beaver and Hard Rope. The former was chief of the Osages. This tribe was the sworn enemy of the hostile Indians. Hard Rope was the wise man of the Osage tribe. All of these Indians were experts on the trail.

Simultaneously with the orders to march on the following morning, a blizzard set in. All night the snow filled the air. It was whirled over the prairies and swept into drifts behind every object that broke the force of the wind. The heavy stand of grass held it fast. Nature was doing her best to make it a winter campaign.

Reveille sounded on that morning of November 23, while yet it was dark, and the blizzard still raging. A foot or more of snow covered the ground. Shivering troopers groomed their horses while standing up to their knees in snow. Horses, turning tail to the wind, shivered in unison with the troopers. Man and beast partook of breakfast that morning with little degree of comfort. "The General" sounded. Tents came down. Wagons were packed and made ready for the march. "Boots and Saddles" rang out on the snow laden air. Each trooper seized his saddle and busied himself making ready his mount.

The fastenings to Custer's tent are undone. With quick bouyant strides he stalks up to the orderly who is holding his horse. That animal, already saddled, is nervously pawing the snow. The General is wearing his campaigning suit of buckskin, completely hidden now by a military greatcoat, its large cape falling gracefully from his broad shoulders. His feet and legs are encased in a pair of handsome military boots. On his head is the familiar wide brimmed hat. His curling yellow hair which is never trimmed when campaigning, has not yet grown down to his shoulders since his recall to service. His sparkling blue eyes and face are lit up with keen joy, as those of a small boy greeting the first snow of the season.

Standing there by the horse's head for a moment as he casts his eyes around on the snowy field, he looks more like a cavalier stepped out of the Sixteenth Century, than a grim warrior starting on a hazardous campaign in a raging blizzard.

Vaulting into the saddle, he turns his horse towards Sheridan's headquarters and gallops over the intervening quarter mile, horse and rider exulting in the exhileration that comes from scattering the feathery flakes underfoot. Sheridan who has heard the bugle calls and preparations, is awake. As Custer dismounts in front of his tent he cries out, "What do you think of this storm?"

"Just what we want," is the cheerful reply. "We can move and the Indians cannot. If this snow remains on the ground one week, I promise to bring you satisfactory evidence that we have met the enemy."

With earnest injunction to keep him informed if anything important should occur, he bids his cavalier goodbye, and Custer, mounting, gallops through the storm to where his command awaits his orders. The column forms, the band in front. Custer was fond of display but there was an object in both pomp and display. Music and pomp and display take the minds of soldiers off of their difficulties. When ''Advance'' sounded, to the stirring notes of the "The Girl I Left Behind Me," the command moved out into the storm with all the appearance of dress parade.

Stirring tunes and pomp do not take all the trials and difficulties out of a march through a Plain's blizzard. Moving in a southwesterly direction the column ascended the divide that separates the valleys of Wolf and Beaver creeks. No one but the Indian guides had been there before—no others knew the landmarks that would guide them in this Indian country. The blinding snow obliterated every object a hundred feet away. A mile from camp the guides stopped, and huddling together awaited the approach of Custer.

Riding up the commander asked why they were not moving forward. The Osages explained that, while they knew every landmark from there to Texas, they could not attempt to guide the army when the storm prevented them from seeing any of the landmarks, and the driving snow made them lose the sense of direction. They counseled turning back until the storm abated.

Custer turn around and go back to camp! He laughed at these creatures of the Plains—at storms and blizzards. He had recourse to something that never lost sense of direction. Well had he studied the map, and he had chosen a point on Wolf creek where he would camp that evening. It was due southwest. Placing himself in front of Indian guides and scouts of the Plains, holding a pocket compass in his hand, he directed the march—a halting, stumbling, fatiguing march through deep snow under foot and blinding snow overhead.

Indian guides marveled at "Long Hair" that day. Nothing so thoroughly commands the respect of the Indian as such performances as Custer was now enacting. They were convinced that he was a "Big Chief." Even California Joe, that unique character of the Plains who knew no fear, and doubted all "West P'inters," formed an admiration for the "Gin'ral" that day that lasted through life.

"Air ye a ambulance man, ur a hoss man?" he said to Custer when that officer asked him to enter his services as a scout.

On being told that Custer preferred a horse if he was going out to catch Indians, the scout's eyes lighted up, and he exclaimed, "Ye've hit the nail squar on the head. I've ben with 'em on the Plains whar they started out ater the Injuns on wheels, jes as they go to a town fun'ral in the States, an' they stood 'bout as many chances ov ketchin' Injuns as a six-mule team wud ov ketchin' a pack ov theivin' ki-o-tees, jes as much."

It was a trying ordeal, marching through the blizzard that day, but every Indian guide, every scout, and every trooper realized that the man out in front leading the way knew what he was doing. The fate of an army is largely in the hands of one man—and when that man boldly meets and overcomes all obstacles, he becomes an inspiration to every man in the army.

That afternoon at two thirty o'clock, the advance marched down into the valley of Wolf Creek—a wooded and protected spot. Had Custer been there before, he would have chosen it for this expedition. Soon every trooper was digging brush and wood from beneath the snowdrifts. Soon blazing fires gave out comforting warmth to men and horses. By the time the wagon train reached the camp, the snow was cleared away. Tents were pitched, and cooks hastily prepared hot coffee and dinner.

Early the following morning the march was resumed. The storm had passed. The sun was shining, but there was two feet of snow on the ground. Buffalo, and deer, and antelope had drifted with the storm from the uplands until they reached the protection of the hills and timber of Wolf Creek. Here they huddled together in banks of snow, little inclined to move out at the approach of the army.

Scouts, and guides, and officers turned hunters. They dashed through snowbanks, they plunged into ravines and holes concealed by blankets of snow where man, horse and buffalo performed marvelous feats in seeing who could get out first; feats that brought shouts of laughter from hundreds who were watching the wild show. But they killed an abundance of game which was butchered and packed away in the wagons.

On the third day the Indian guides led the little army out of the valley of Wolf Creek, turning due south. Slowly they crept up the divide that separates Wolf Creek from the Canadian. Reaching the crest, they could see far away and across the broad valley of the Canadian, the Antelope Hills. Rising from the level plains to a height of three hundred feet. they are guiding landmarks for Indians and Whites. That night camp was made on a small tributary of the Canadian about a mile from that river.

While the army was on its march from Fort Dodge to Camp Supply a fresh trail, made by a band of warriors, was crossed near the Beaver. Custer greatly desired to follow the back trail with a view to discovering the winter quarters of the hostiles, but General Sully, then in command, would not hear to it.

As he stood near the banks of the Canadian, which runs through a desolation of sand, it occurred to Custer that some traces of the crossing made by that band of warriors might be discovered—or even better, they might have been forced by the storm to return, in which event they would leave a trail in the deep snow that would fairly shout the fact in detail and lead them to the winter quarters.

He immediately called the Indian guides and scouts. Little Beaver and Hard Rope said the usual place of crossing was further up the river, twelve or fifteen miles distant. It was the opinion of both Indian and White scouts that the hostile band whose trail they had seen would be driven back, and that no doubt they were now pushing towards their villages.

With that prompt decision that marked all his military acts, Custer directed Major Elliott,second in command, to move up the north bank of the river with three squadrons, looking for traces of the former crossing or new and recent trails. In the event that he discovered a trail he was to cross the river and follow as rapidly as possible, sending Custer word and details, as to the number and character of the Indians. Part of the Indian guides and scouts were detailed to accompany Major Elliott.

Promptly at daylight the scouting party moved out and along the bank of the river as directed. At the same time the main command began preparations for crossing.

There was high water in the Canadian river that morning. It is a treacherous, villainous river, full of quicksands and holes. The bed is a wide waste of fine sand. Normally a small stream of water winds and twists through this waste while the winds drift the sands in ever moving windrows where the water does not flow. As the waters rise, these sands are saturated, cohesion is broken up, and they become the treacherous quicksand. Woe to man or beast that rests feet upon them. As a horse's feet sink in the quick yielding surface, the impact drives the water out of the sands, at the same time washing them around the feet, where a packing and ''setting'' takes place. He tries to pull one, then another out of its vice-like grip. He struggles, flounders—and falls. Unless he has man's help he will never rise.

When there is plenty of water over these sands, they are likely to pack and remain firm enough to permit passage over them. But with a volume of water there is force, and the loose sands are scooped out and piled up—holes and sandbars. A horse may be walking along in water above his knees when suddenly he steps off into a hole—and goes out of sight. It is a treacherous and villainous river—and good crossings have always been rare.

Since daylight California Joe has been beating up and down the banks seeking a crossing. He is a picturesque character in the scene on the bank of the Canadian that winter morning, as he races here and there on his favorite mule —for Joe rides a mule. His long black hair falls in tangled mass over his broad shoulders. His heavy brown beard is fanned over his breast by the morning breeze. He is wearing a military coat and a wide brimmed, black sombrero, and a pair of heavy high top boots. In his mouth is a short stemmed pipe from which he is drawing and emitting minature clouds of smoke. He is typical of the trapper-scout-frontiersman of the Plains.*

There have been various descriptions of the personal appearance of California Joe. He has been described by men who had been his associates. He has been pictured as having flaming red hair and beard, and eyes of blue, and again with hair as black as night and eyes to match. I have accepted the description given by General Custer, whose accuracy in such matters is dependable, and tallies with that of men who described him to me, when, as a boy I lived where California Joe once scouted the plains. P. N.

After many trials a place is found where it is thought the wagons can be got over. The cavalry can cross anywhere. It took three hours to get the train across that morning. Time and again the wheels sank into the quicksands where the felloes were gripped and held as though in a vice. Teams were doubled—and doubled again. They were "snaked" across by sheer force of mule power.

In the meantime Custer forded and rode up the divide to the Antelope Hills that rise like battlements from the level plains. He climbed to the top of the highest one, and viewed the country. Of this view he wrote: "On the left is to be seen the red bed of the Canadian, whose tortuous windings, coming from the southwest, direct their course for a while northwards, and finally disappear in a distant easterly direction. The horizon is but an immense circle of snowy whiteness. Here and there a few acclivities arise above the plains, divided by rows of stunted trees, indicating a ravine, or more frequently a humble brook such as that on whose banks we camped the night previous to crossing the Canadian. It never occurred to any of us, when folding our tents that bleak winter morning, that there were those among our number who had bid a last and final farewell to the friendly shelter of their canvass-covered homes; that for some of us, some who could but be sadly spared, the last reveille had sounded, and that when sleep again closed their eyes it would be that sleep from which there is no awakening."

As Custer lingered on this lookout, he saw a horseman in the distance approaching from the direction taken by Major Elliott. Through his field glasses he made out the familiar face and form of Jack Corbin, the scout. Hastening down from the lookout, he waited almost breathlessly for the messenger. Corbin explained that after travelling up the Canadian about twelve miles they came upon a trail not twenty-four hours old. It was that of a war party numbering over a hundred. Major Elliott crossed over, and was now following the trail southward.

Custer asked the scout if he could overtake Elliott if given a fresh horse. Corbin said he could, and without delay he made ready to return. Word was sent to Elliott to follow the trail with all possible speed. If its course changed, he was to send word to Custer, who in the meantime would follow rapidly southward in hopes he would intersect the trail and overtake Elliott. If by eight o'clock he was not up with the scouting party, Elliott was to wait for him.

The bugle summoned officers to Custer's side. They had been interested spectators of the meeting of General and Scout, and were eager to know what had taken place. Briefly, Custer told them what he had learned, and as briefly issued his orders to them.

They would move at once. Each trooper to take one hundred rounds of ammunition, a supply of coffee and hardtack, and forage for his horse. The wagon train would be left with an escort to follow as it could, tents and blankets to be left with the train.

Taking his watch from his pocket and announcing the time, Custer said, "Twenty minutes from now the advance will be sounded. Be ready to march."

Rush was made for wagons where ammunition boxes were hastily opened, troopers helping themselves. Mess chests gave up supplies of bread and coffee. During the few minutes left after making such preparations, the men began pulling on extra clothing, for it was bitter freezing weather out on the plains, now that they were covered with snow.

While this was going on, an officer approached General Custer, disappointment and anxiety pictured in every feature of his face. Duties of officer of the day had fallen to his lot, which meant that he must remain behind in charge of the wagon train.

"Is it your intention to leave me behind with the train?" he asked.

Custer regretted that his command would be deprived of the services of such a splendid officer, but he could not substitute another without doing an injustice.

"While I greatly desire that you command your squadron, I am powerless to have it so unless some other officer will volunteer to exchange places with you," was the reply to the importunings of the officer.

Dejected and disappointed he turned away. Brother officers offered supplications, but to no avail. Presently he returned to Custer with the information that an officer who had been stricken with snow blindness volunteered to exchange places. Great was his joy when Custer readily consented to the exchange.

This young and brilliant officer was Louis McLane Hamilton, grandson of Alexander Hamilton. Fortune offered him two chances that day at the foot of the Antelope Hills—one for life and happiness, the other for death within the scope of a day. Fate directed him in the path of duty and a glorious death.

The bugle sounds the "Advance" and, out from the shadows of the Hills, they start due south through the deep snow. It is yet two hours of noon. The horses in advance breaking the snow, are soon wearied. They drop back and others take their places. Hour after hour they press forward. It is mid-afternoon and still no sight of Elliott or the trail. Scouts far out on the right and left scan carefully the whitened surface for a glimpse of any sign—like hounds on the scent. The sun sinks close to the horizon. Commander and officers become anxious—not to say worried. They had hoped to find the trail or overtake Elliott before darkness closed in.

A shout of triumph falls on their ears and causes all to stop. Far out on the side a scout has found the trial. Osage guides leap across the prairies, officers spur their horses forward. There in the deep snow the hostile warriors had written their record.

"More than a hundred," the Osages say, and they had passed that very place in the early part of that day. Elliott was on the trail. Although they can see for miles ahead, he is not in sight. Without loss of time the column swings into the trail and moves rapidly forward. In the distance can be seen a fringe of trees. It is the valley of the Washita, but they do not know it.

Custer sends some well mounted troops and scouts ahead at a gallop to overtake Elliott who is to wait until the main command comes up. They reach the valley of the Washita after dark. The trail leads down its timbered stretches mile after mile. It is nine o'clock when they overtake Elliott who has selected a camp on a little stream that has cut a deep channel. Under its banks the troopers build fires and make coffee. The horses are unsaddled and given their feed of oats. Thus an hour is consumed.

Consulting Little Beaver and Hard Rope, Custer is told that the villages are not far away—such is the opinion of the Indians. Little Beaver thinks they should wait until morning. When questioned for a reason, he is unable to give any, so Custer attributes it to the natural reluctance of all Indians to attack an unseen foe.

By ten o'clock they are ready to move down the valley. No bugle notes sound the march now. The Scouts counsel great caution. Far in advance two Osage guides glide along with panther-like tread feeling the way. They are followed distant some two or three hundred yards by Custer with California Joe, Corbin, and other white and Indian Scouts. A quarter of a mile in the rear the cavalry follow.

Orders are given for none to speak above a whisper. The trooper must do without his pipe, that greatest of comforts, for no one is permitted to light a match. Thus silently, but for the sound of horses' feet in the snow, they move forward mile after mile.

The Osages in the lead suddenly become transfixed—like pointers on stand. One of them slowly turns his head, nostrills dilated and sniffs the air.

"What is the matter?" Custer asks in undertone as he comes up to them.

"Me don't know. Me smell fire," the Osage replies.

The other scouts gather round. They scent the night air whose currents, clear and frosty, float above the snow sheeted ground. They fail to detect the slightest odor of fire. Surely the Osage is mistaken.

Custer respects the almost supernatural senses of the Indian on trail, so he directs the two scouts to proceed as before, but with great caution.

Another half mile is covered, the advance scouts gliding along like great felines stealing upon their prey. Then they stop again—and crouch down in the snow. Hurrying forward Custer asks the cause of the stop.

Pointing to the embers of a dying fire under the trees some seventy-five yards distant, he who scented it a half mile back says, "Me told you so."

Only those who have hunted big game—cold, hungry, and with nerves stretched taut—know the peculiar sensation that comes when the very thing they are looking for suddenly looms up before them.

None but Indians built that fire—hostile Indians. Were they asleep around those smouldering embers? Or had their sharp ears heard the distant tramp of horses crunching snow under foot? Were they now behind trees, where, covered by shade, they waited the opportune moment to attack? These questions ran rapidly through the mind of the commander.

If already discovered, there was nothing to be gained by withdrawing now. Custer called for volunteers to approach the fire and feel the enemy out—if any were there. All pressent offered their services. Led by Little Beaver and Hard Rope they formed a circling movement towards the timber, fingers lightly pressing triggers. A few minutes of suspense followed, and then the scouts were seen about the fire.

Pony tracks in the snow told the story, to those who read that language, of herd boys who had built the fire while grazing the ponies that fed on the grass pawed out from under the snow, and from the bark and tender twigs of trees.

All feel sure they are close to the village now. Custer takes his place with the two advance Osage scouts, and the march is continued. The Indians creep up every hill, and peering carefully over the crests examine every space ahead. They have not gone far when one of the scouts, who has for several minutes been cautiously peering over a hill, comes running down to where Custer is sitting on his horse.

"What is it?" he asks.

"Heaps Injuns down there," was the reply, and the scout points down the valley.

Hastily dismounting, Custer climbs to the crest of the hill. They crouch down close to the ground, for the moon is shining now, and objects show almost as plainly on the snow sheeted ground as in daytime. The Osage points to the valley where the Washita, fringed with heavy timber growth. winds its tortuous way along. Custer looks into the shadows and discerns something that might be a herd of buffalo.

"Why do you think there are Indians down there?" he asks.

"Me hear dog bark," was the reply.

Looking and listening, Custer is rewarded after some minutes by the barking of a dog. Then he hears the tinkling of a bell, such as are belted to the necks of horses and cattle. He is turning away when he distinctly hears the cry of a child in the distance.

He is satisfied now—the village is situated in the valley just over the hill, hidden by the trees.

Custer is not a savage. He is a soldier and his orders are to administer retribution for the crimes that have been committed against innocent men and women—and children. The culprits are now in his hand, sleeping while he disposes his forces around their village—the only time in years of warfare when the Indians are to be the victims of their own cruel methods.

And yet, as Custer hears the cry of the little child his soldier heart is touched. In speaking of this, he afterwards said: "Savages though they were, and justly outlawed by the number and atrocity of their recent murders and depredations on the helpless settlers of the frontier, I could but regret that in a war such as we were forced to engage in, the mode and circumstances of battle would possibly prevent discrimination."

Leaving the Osages to keep a sharp lookout, Custer returned to the party of scouts in the rear, and dispatched an orderly to halt the cavalry, with strict word enjoining silence, and directing every officer to ride forward.

Custer informed his officers of the proximity of the village and bidding them lay off their sabres that no clanking sound might arouse any quick-eared sentinel, he led them to the crest of the hill where, in whispers he directed their attention to the location of the village and the landmarks surrounding. When every officer had fixed in his mind the location and approaches, they silently retired.

The commander already had determined his plan of battle. His army consisted of approximately 800 cavalry and a few scouts. These he divided into four detachments. Major Elliott, who discovered the trail and has been in pursuit since early morning, with troops G. H. and M. will move to the left, coming upon the village from the opposite side. Colonel Thompson with B and F troops will move to the right and by a circling moment connect with Elliott in the rear of the camp. Colonel Myers with troops E and I will move to the right to fill the gap between Thompson and the forces to be led from the point of discovery by Custer.

The sharpshooters under Colonel Cook, and troops A, C, D, and K, with Indian guides and scouts in two columns, one under Captain Hamilton, the other under Colonel West, will march over the hill directly in front of their present position.

It was now after midnight. The attack would be made at dawn. All detachments were to get in position as soon as possible and wait the signal for attack. So it was, standing in the biting cold, talking in whispers, officers received their instructions for battle, that wintry night.

Without delay Elliott moves out—to carry into execution the last orders he will ever receive on this earth. The other officers hasten to secure their positions. Silently, cautiously, they steal across the snow clad hills and through stretches of timber, until at last they creep into place where they must shiver in the cold other hours waiting for daylight—and the signal of attack.

For hours the detachment under Custer's immediate command waited for the morning light. Men, half frozen sat on their horses. Others laid down on the snow and slept, holding bridle reins in their hands. Officers sat in groups, where, pulling their capes over their heads, they discussed the various aspects of their position in reference to the coming battle. Now that his men were disposed for the attack, Custer wrapped himself in his great coat, and lying down on the snow slept soundly for an hour. When he awoke, it was still two good hours until daylight.

He visits the groups of officers, speaking cheering words to all. He joins a group of scouts where California Joe is commenting on the probable outcome. The situation is new to these men of the plains. They never had engaged in a venture like this. The very audacity in surrounding an Indian village under cover of darkness—to turn the element of surprise and ambush against their long standing enemies appeals to their venturesome spirits, but the uncertainties attending an engagement where the numbers of the enemy are unknown raises a question of doubt as to the results.

Custer asks them what they think of the chances for a fight.

"Fight!" says California Joe. "I haint nary doubt 'bout thet part ov the business. What I've ben tryin' to git through my topknot all night is whether we'll run agin more'n we bargained fur."

"Then you don't think the Indians will run away, Joe?" Custer asks.

"Run away! How'n creation kin they run away when we'll hev 'em clean surrounded afore daylight?"

"Well, suppose we succeed in surrounding the village, do you think we will be able to hold our own against them?"

"Thet's the very pint thet's ben botherin' me ever since we planted ourselves down hyar," Joe replies, "an' the only conclusion I kin come at is thet its purty apt to be one thing or t'other; ef we pump these Injuns at daylight, we're either goin' to make a spoon ur spile a horn, an' thet's my candid judgment, shore. One thing's certain, ef them Injuns don't hyar us tel we open on 'em at daylight, they'll be the most powerful 'stonished redskins thet's ben in these parts lately —they will shore. An ef we git the bulge on 'em, an keep puttin' it to 'em sortta lively like, we'll sweep the platter clean—thar wont be nary trick left for em. As the deal stan's now, we hold the keerds an' are holdin' over 'em: They've got to straddle our blind ur throw up their hands. Howsomever, thar's a mighty sight in the draw."

So the quaint old frontiersman ran on, his rich plains dialect brim full of homely metaphor and sound sense. He was convinced that there would be a fight, and that they would overwhelmingly defeat the Indians or the Indians would defeat them—it would not be a drawn battle.

The moon sank behind the western hills some time before daylight, leaving the little army enshrouded in utter darkness. It was then that the morning star, its astral brilliance and splendor, magnified by the clear atmosphere, appeared suddenly on the eastern horizon. For a few minutes it was mistaken for a signal, and fears were entertained that they had been discovered.

With the first faint signs of approaching day Custer awoke the officers who had dropped off to sleep. Whispering orders are given, and the troops are prepared to move. Silently and cautiously they approach the crest of the hill, Colonel West's squadron on the right, Captain Hamilton's on the left. Colonel Cook's sharpshooters are on foot in advance of Hamilton's squadron. Custer is at the side of Captain Hamilton. Immediately behind them is the band, ready at the signal from Custer to strike up the music.

They reach the crest and start down the slope straight for the Indian village. A herd of ponies at the edge of the timber see the approaching cavalcade and move nervously about. If the Indians hear sounds of tramping feet they probably attribute it to their own ponies.

The level portion of the valley is reached, and they enter the timber. Through the openings in the trees, they see the lodges, smoke lazily ascending from the openings in the tops. Still there is no sign of life. Custer wonders if it is possible that his movements have been observed—and the Indians escaped.

The advance is within easy rifle range—the white lodges are plainly visible.

A shot rings sharp and clear from the farther side of the village.

Custer signals the leader of the band. The rollicking strains of "Garry Owen" break upon the valley's solitude, and echo upon the surrounding hills. Cheers from the opposite side of the valley answer to the music—and Custer knows that Elliott and Myers and Thompson are in place.

Buglers sound the charge—the troops dash into the village as warriors rush from the lodges, rifles in hand. They spring behind trees and fall down behind logs. Some leap into the Washita, where knee deep in its icy waters they use the banks for breastworks and pour a deadly fire into the troopers. Cheering of soldiers is answered by defiant war whoops of savages, fighting now for their own homes and families. No braver men ever lived—or died.

Both sides are suffering losses. The brave Hamilton, riding at the head of his column and by the side of Custer is saying to his command, "Now, men, keep cool! Fire low, and not too rapidly."

Scarcely are the words uttered when he falls from his saddle, dead.

Black Kettle, head chief of the village was one of the first Indians to fall. Little Rock, second chief was killed while trying to escape with some women and children who he was trying to conduct to a place of safety down the river.

Colonel Barnitz received a wound through the body. He thought it was mortal. Custer, seeing him carried from the field galloped to his side. The officer's face had that pallor that is the forerunner of death. He gave a last message for his family, to be delivered by Custer. But Colonel Barnitz lived to die a natural death at a ripe old age.

The village was in Custer's possession soon after the charge, but the warriors were not. They still fought desperately from whatever defense they could find. It would be a barren victory without destroying the fighting force of the Indians. The sharpshooters were doing splendid work now. From behind trees and stumps they were fighting the Indians in Indian fashion.

Most of the non-combatants had remained in the lodges, but some of the squaws attempted to break through the cordon of troops and escape down the river. Custer did not know that village after village, and hundreds of warriors were just below him, the nearest being about two miles—but the squaws knew.

One old squaw led a white child—one of those unfortunates captured in the summer raids. Seeing troopers in front, she turned to the right. Confronted with the same obstacles in that direction, she veered off towards the river, only to meet other troopers. She hesitated a moment, looking in every direction to see if any avenue was open. Evidently convinced that escape was impossible, with fiendish malignity, determined that the victors should not triumph over the recapture of the child, she quickly drew a knife from beneath her blanket and plunged it through the little waif's heart.

A trooper attempted to prevent the tragedy, but he was too late. He did not soon enough discern the old fiend's intent. But he meted out swift and avenging justice. The bloody savage swayed a moment, lurched, and fell beside her victim. The child was never identified.

It was ten o'clock, and still warriors so well concealed that they were able to protect themselves from the deadly fire of the sharpshooters, kept up the fight.

About this time Custer's attention was called to a party of warriors on a hill about a mile distant. At first he thought it was some from the village that had escaped, and having caught and mounted ponies, were watching the battle. Other matters engaging his attention he gave it no other thought at the time.

California Joe, having gone through the charge, and now satisfied that they had "made a spoon" instead of "spilin' a horn," occupied himself with rounding up the ponies and seeing what was going on about the outskirts of the village. He brought in one herd of three hundred ponies which he found on the edge of the village, and impressed into service two or three squaws in charge of the herd. Altogether he had collected and was holding nine hundred head. War ponies are the most highly prized property of the Indians.

When Custer again looked out on the surrounding hills, he saw that the Indians there were greatly increased in numbers. Examining them through his field glasses, he was surprised to see that they were mounted warriors in full costume, war bonnets and regalia, armed, and floating their lance pennants. Constant accession to their numbers could be seen arriving from the opposite direction. Here was cause for alarm.

Sending for his interpreter, Custer went with him to the lodge where the squaws were collected. Choosing the wife of one of the principal chiefs he began questioning her. His surprise was almost equal to that of the Indians when he had charged the village, upon learning from this woman that he was in the winter quarters of all of the hostile Indian tribes—the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Comanches, Kiowas and Plains Apaches—that down the Washita, for a distance of ten miles, their villages were located.

There were several thousand warriors in these villages, and Custer suddenly realized that they were sure to attack in force. It was now well towards noon. The Indians no doubt had been assembling their forces since early morning,

Fortunately for Custer his forces had triumphed over the warriors of the village. Every brave that remained on the ground had been killed. Hastily collecting and re-forming his command, he posted them in readiness for the attack which he felt sure would come.

The Indians were disposing their forces, much as Custer had done during the night. He was now to be the defender of the village he had so recently captured. Already in more than one direction could be seen bodies of warriors that outnumbered his command.

Just at this time great good fortune attended the little army. Quartermaster Major Bell arrived with several thousand rounds of ammunition. By greatly exerting the efforts of himself and teams he had pressed forward on the trail. Evading the Indians who were intently watching Custer's actions, he managed to get into the villiage. Within a few minutes after his arrival, the Indians attacked from the direction he had entered.

The attack soon became general. Custer was now entirely surrounded. However, the Indians did not fight with any confidence. With overwhelming numbers, they were wary and cautious. No doubt the disaster that had overtaken Black Kettle's village discouraged them. Another thing that made them cautious was the uncertainty of the size and numbers of Custer's forces. These were concealed by the timber, and no doubt the destruction of the village and the loss of all the warriors convinced the savages that their adversaries were much more numerous than they really were.

Their attacks consisted chiefly of feints and challenges designed to draw their enemies away from the village. Custer was not to be deceived. He held his forces close within the timber screen. Gradually the attack weakened, and with forces four or five to one, the hostile allies reassembled their warriors on the surrounding hills.

With courage that mounted high when difficulties multiplied; endowed with a genius for meeting exigencies of war, Custer was now undaunted by the overwhelming numbers that surrounded him. He hesitated not a moment as the perils of his position became apparent. He knew from the manner of attack that the Indians were demoralized by the blow he had delivered in the early morning hours. Now was the time to add another.

Detailing two hundred and fifty troopers for the work, the village lodges were torn down and piled in heaps. The torch was applied. From the ampitheater of surrounding hills the warrior hosts witnessed the flames devour their homes.

How often in fiendish glee had they set fire to the lonely settler's cabin on the far frontier, the dead bodies of the owner's cremated within. No armed hosts protected those victims, or superior forces viewed the holocaust.

As the flames leaped hot and high from the tepee poles, so, hot and high, leaped the wrath of the savages. Excited, enraged, frenzied, they charged from every quarter. For the first time that day they fought with courage and determination. They were met by a withering fire from the sheltered positions of the troops. Having advantage of inside lines, Custer could support any squadron without loss of time, and deliver telling blows to the enemy. In this way, meeting and repelling every attack, hurling back every charge with heavy loss to the enemy, he drove them back until, disheartened, the Indians abandoned the field. They withdrew again to the hills, where they remained in full force.

With this breathing spell, Custer took an inventory of his losses. Captain Hamilton was killed. Major Elliott was missing, and as he had not been seen since early morning, it was altogether likely that he, too, had been killed, and nineteen enlisted men were missing, among whom was the sergeant-major. Colonels Barnitz and Tom Custer were wounded, the former desperately so. Eleven enlisted men were wounded.

Among the latter was a buglar boy who was struck by an arrow just above the eye. During the battle he was suddenly confronted by a warrior whose only weapon was a bow and arrow. The arrow, which was steel pointed struck the skull and followed the boney contour around to the ear. With great difficulty the surgeon cut off the shaft of the arrow and pulled the steel head out. It left a large and ugly wound.

Custer came across the boy while the blood was running down and covering his face—a gruesome sight. The lad was sitting on a bundle of robes near where the surgeon was dressing the wounds of the injured men.

"Did you see the Indian who wounded you?" the General asked.

Reaching down into a capacious pocket the boy brought up an Indian scalp.

"If anybody thinks I didn't see him, take a look at that," was his reply .

He shot his assailant with a pistol, and adopting the savagery of the Indians had removed the scalp lock.

Napoleon at Moscow was hundreds of miles from his base of supplies. Without food or shelter for his army, he was surrounded by the deadliest of foes to man—snow, ice, and freezing temperature. All his animate enemies needed do was to prevent food and shelter reaching him, close in upon and harrass him. The deadly elements did the work of destruction.

Custer was not hundreds of miles from his base of supplies, but he was five or six days away, surrounded by snow and ice—by freezing temperature—and by overwhelming forces. He was without food or shelter. Before entering battle in the morning, he had ordered the troopers to remove their overcoats which were piled on the snow. Although they were left in protection of a small guard, the Indians had captured the clothing when they surrounded the village.

His wagon train was somewhere on the trail slowly dragging it way towards certain capture and sure death to the eighty troopers in escort. Such a calamity, even if he could extricate his little army, would nullify the victory he had just won.

He had killed over a hunderd warriors, and held sixty women and children captive. He had destroyed a village containing valuable supplies, and held nine hundred ponies in hand.

If he remained in his present position another day, his wagon train was sure to be captured with loss of all the men escorting the train. He could not feed and shelter his men without the supplies contained in the wagons. His position was critical.

"He who hesitates is lost," is an old adage. Custer did not hesitate. The situation called for boldness, fearlessness, and swift action. He was a bold and fearless officer.

The nine hundred ponies were the most valuable property belonging to the Indians. Their loss would be a telling blow to them. It would cripple them on the warpath.

Directing the squaws to select as many ponies from the herd as would be necessary to transport the captives, the remaining eight hundred or more were doomed to slaughter. From their ampitheater the warriors looked down upon another tragedy as they witnesses the firing squad's bloody work.

It was an hour of sundown. Forming his forces in column, the band in front, the captives, mounted, in rear of the advance troops and well guarded; with colors flying and the band playing a lively air the little army moved with all the pomp and display of conquering heroes—down the valley towards the other villages.

The warriors on the hills had watched the preparations in silence. For a few minutes they gazed at the moving forces. Then it dawned on them that another attack was contemplated—another attack on their homes intended.

There was great commotion on the hills that evening as the gay colors of the warriors were lighted up by the linger ing. rays of the setting sun—as Custer marched down the valley in the shadows.

Chieftains who had boasted of the scalps they had taken —of the homes they had burned—Satanta, Lone Wolf, Left Hand, Yellow Bear, Little Robe—rode furiously from point to point, consulting, directing. Excited warriors galloped away towards the villages—towards their women and children. Without attempting to oppose the march, without firing a shot, the embattled hosts melted away and, like the waters of the Washita, flowed swiftly down the valley.

Down the valley Custer marched, past deserted villages until deep darkness covered his every movement. Then, suddenly facing about he rapidly retraced his steps. By ten o'clock his little army was on the battlefield they had so recently left. He did not halt. He pushed rapidly on—past the spot where they stood shivering in the bitter cold waiting for daylight and the attack—on past the spot where the smouldering fire was discovered—on, still on. Weary horses that had known no rest for many hours dragged their heavy feet along the trail; weary troopers who had known no rest for eight and forty hours, sat their weary mounts, insensible now to the biting cold.

And Custer, in whose hands was the keeping of all, still at the front, urged the weary army on; he felt no weariness, and his eyes never drooped for sleep. He was dragging his little army out of the jaws of death.

By two o'clock he deemed it safe to halt for rest; but Colonel West must push forward with a squadron until he meets the wagon train—to hold it until the army arrives. Huge fires were built, and soldiers and captives gathered round to get relief from the cold. Horses and men welcomed the rest from the weary trail.

Promptly at daylight the march was resumed. There were no signs of pursuit. To the great joy of the commander, they came in sight of the wagon train by ten o'clock. Without pausing, teams were ordered hitched to the wagons, and all pressed forward. Not then, even, could the troops partake of food. By two o'clock they reached the place where the trail left the Washita river, and turned north towards the Antelope Hills. Here Custer ordered the army into camp.

While the troops were preparing hot coffee and roasting great chunks of the game that had been slaughtered on Wolf Creek, Custer sat down and wrote his report of the battle. As darkness came on that night, California Joe and Jack Corbin started across the snowy waste to carry the report to Camp Supply—to give Sheridan word of the great victory that had been won as Custer had promised.

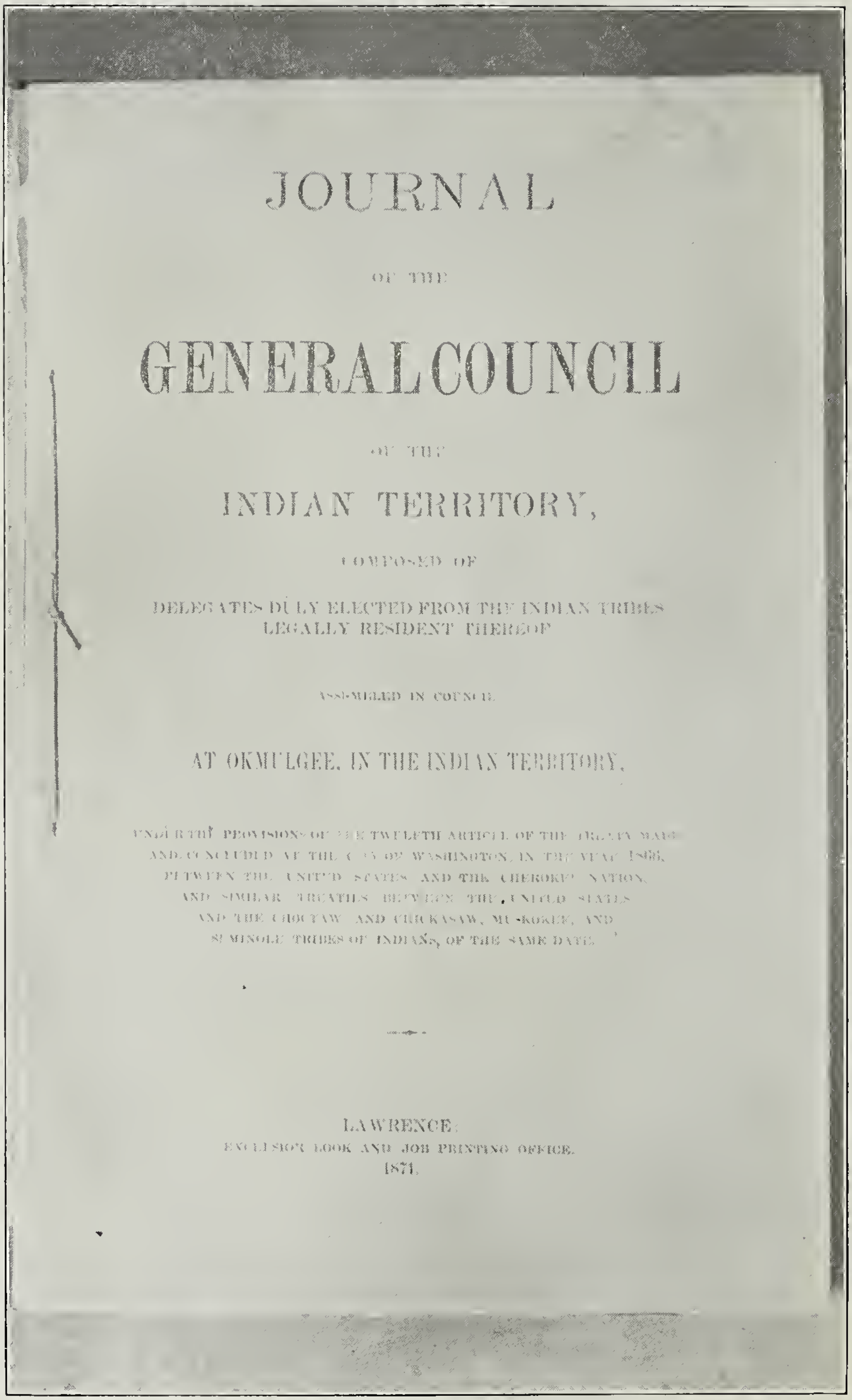
Two days later the little army marched down the divide that separates Wolf and Beaver creeks—the divide that overlooks Camp Supply. The band was playing "Garry Owen" while Osage Indians dressed and painted in fantastic colors, chanted their war songs, interspersed with the shrill whoops of triumphant warriors. Following, rode the white scouts led by California Joe and Jack Corbin. Behind these came the captives under guard, all mounted on Indian ponies. Then came the troops formed in column of platoons.

Thus the conquering heroes marched before their chief, General Sheridan. As the officers rode by giving him the military salute with sabres, he returned their courtesy by lifting his cap.

Neither Sheridan nor Custer realized the far reaching effects of this battle of the Washita at the time. The Indians learned that the avenging hand of the whites could reach them in their most secluded places; that the weapons they had used against the whites so often could be turned against them; that there were "Big Chiefs" in the army of the whites who had the cunning of the Indians—and who were not afraid. "Long Hair" was ever after held in fear and hatred by them, but he was ever respected.

Never again did all of the Southern tribes of the allied Plains Indians go on the warpath against the whites. However, the campaign of Sheridan and Custer had just begun—and that is another story.

—*Paul Nesbitt.*



JOURNAL

OF THE

GENERAL COUNCIL

OF THE

INDIAN TERRITORY,

COMPOSED OF

DELEGATES DULY ELECTED FROM THE INDIAN TRIBES
LEGALLY RESIDENT THEREOF

ASSEMBLED IN COUNCIL

AT OKMULGEE, IN THE INDIAN TERRITORY,

UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE TWELFTH ARTICLE OF THE TREATY MADE
AND CONCLUDED AT THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, IN THE YEAR 1866,
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE CHEROKEE NATION,
AND SIMILAR TREATIES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES
AND THE CHOCTAW AND CHICKASAW, MUSKOKEE, AND
SEMINOLE TRIBES OF INDIANS, OF THE SAME DATE.

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1871.

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EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

When the delegations representing the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes or nations of Indians went to Washington for the purpose of negotiating new treaties, in the spring of 1866, they found that the treaties, as already formulated and proposed by the representatives of the Federal Government, had many points in common. For instance, each specified that slavery should be abolished and that certain provisions should be made for the benefit of former slaves of members of the respective tribes; that much of the surplus tribal lands should be ceded to the Government for the location of other tribes of Indians thereon; that rights-of-way should be granted for the construction and operation of railways across the tribal reservations and, finally, that Congress might have the right to erect, organize and maintain an inter-tribal territorial government, or commonwealth, with a legislative council, a chief executive to be known as the governor and a judicial system including an appelate court. Some of these provisions were subjected to extended negotiations with several of the tribal delegations but, in the end, all were finally incorporated in the respective treaties, though in a somewhat modified form in one or two instances.

Bills for the organization of the Indian Territory, in conformity with the provisions of new treaties, were introduced during the sessions of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses, but neither of these reached the stage of a committee report. In the Forty-first Congress, Representative Robert T. Van Horn, of the Kansas City (Missouri) district, introduced a similar bill for the organization of the Territory under the name of Oklahoma, that name having been suggested in the Choctaw-Chickasaw treaty of 1866. This measure was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs, of which Representative Sidney Clarke, of Kansas, was chairman. After due consideration, it was reported back to the House with a recommendation favorable to its passage. At this juncture, however, Representative Shelby M. Cullom, of Illinois, who was chairman of the Committee on Territories, raised a point of order that such a measure should be referred to his committee before being reported for consideration by the House. An extended debate over this phase of the matter followed, with the result that it was finally referred a joint committee composed of the members of both committees. No further action was taken.

While the "Oklahoma Bill" thus failed of consideration on the floor of the House, the announcement that such a measure had been reported favorably by a congressional committee was sufficient to arouse grave apprehensions in the minds of many of the intelligent Indians. They realized full well that there were several railway companies which were keenly interested in securing land grant subsidies for the construction of lines across the Indian Territory and they suspected that some of these were responsible for the effort to put such a measure through Congress. Although this particular effort had not been successful, further efforts were almost sure to be made in the same line and some of these might be passed and approved. That the time had arrived for the leaders of the several tribes to meet and confer concerning matters which were of common interest, was evident. In the belief that there was therefore a very real need for concerted action, a council or conference of representatives of the several tribes was called to convene at Okmulgee, in the Creek Nation on the 27th of September, 1870. The first session of this "General Council of the Indian Territory," as it was called, sat for four days, when adjournment was made until the first Monday in December following.

The adjourned session was held, during the course of which the proposed Constitution of the Indian Territory was reported, considered and ordered to be submitted to the several tribal councils for ratification or rejection. This document, thenceforth known as the Okmulgee Constitution, was the subject of much discussion in the Indian Territory for several years following, though it was never ratified. Similar conventions, bearing the same name and each convening at Okmulgee, were held annually, down to and including the one held in 1878. The session of 1875 was held in May, with an adjourned session in September following. At this adjourned session, the proposed "Constitution of the Indian

Territory," first formulated for consideration nearly five years before, was again reported for consideration, by a new committee, with a new preamble and several other changes of a minor nature.

The journals of the General Council of the Indian Territory were printed and published in pamphlet form, though evidently in limited editions of which but few copies seem to have been preserved. Although but a few delegations were present at this first session, and these mostly representing the larger and more important tribes, subsequent sessions saw many other tribes represented. The proposed organization of the Indian commonwealth under a constitutional government was never completed, so the General Council never acquired the powers of a law-making assemblage. Despite this, however, it played an important part in the history of the Indian Territory. It helped the people of civilized and semi-civilized tribes, which had long been settled in the Territory, to adjust themselves to the changes which they had had to make as the result of their participation in the Civil War. By bringing representatives of tribes of the more primitive class (including the wild tribes of the western Plains) into such contact and association with those of tribes which had made marked advance in the ways of civilized life, it helped to broaden their vision and to prepare them for the responsibilities which they would have to assume under the changed conditions which destiny held in store for them.

Practically all of the participants in the several sessions of the General Council of the Indian Territory have passed from the scene of their earthly activities. The wilderness trails over which they rode or drove to the meeting place are not merely forgotten but, in many places indeed, have been entirely effaced by the white man's plow. The Arcadian little Indian settlement, where they were wont to foregather, to counsel together for the common good, has been replaced by a busy city whose pulses throb with the spirit of modern industry. The General Council and its Okmulgee Constitution are all but forgotten in the great state which was once the Indian Territory and which has a constitution that is in striking contrast with the brief, simple charter which was framed by the tribesmen of more than half a century ago—a constitution the details of which are so elaborate and so involved that it not only puzzles legislators but it taxes the profundity of courts to comprehend all of its intricate meanings and intentions. In the rapid march of modern progress, with its complications and its conventions, men are too prone to forget the pioneer and the day of humble beginnings. In the belief that the story of the successive sessions of the General Council of the Indian Territory and the deliberations and transactions thereof is worthy of preservation, it is the purpose of the Oklahoma Historical Society to republish the same in installments, of which the following is the first.

JOURNAL

OKMULGEE, Tuesday,
September 27, A. D. 1870.

Council convened at 9:30 A. M.

Superintendent Enoch Hoag presiding.

I. G. VORE, Secretary *pro tem.*

Credentials of members of different tribes presented and the following delegates admitted to seats:

CHEROKEE NATION,	Wm. P. Ross. Riley Keys. Allen Ross.
MUSKOKEE NATION,	G. W. Stidham. Pleasant Porter. John R. Moore. L. C. Perryman. G. W. Grayson. Joseph M. Perryman. Sanford W. Perryman.
OTTAWAS,	Francis King.
EASTERN SHAWNEES,	Lazarus Flint.
QUAPAWS,	George Lane.
SENECAS,	James King.
WYANDOTTES,	James Hicks.
[4] CONFEDERATE PEORIAS&c	Edward Black.
SAC & FOX	Keokuk. Mat-ta-tah.

ABSENTEE SHAWNEES	John White.
	Joseph Ellis.

A quorum not being present,

Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Credentials of members presented and the following Delegates admitted to seats:

CHEROKEE NATION,	S. H. Benge
MUSKOKEE NATION,	Oktar-har-sars Harjo, of Arpe-kar
[Seminole]	Cot-cho-che, of We-wo-ka
CHEROKEE NATION (Delaware)	John Sarcoxie
GREAT AND LITTLE OSAGES	Augustus Captain
	Wm. Connor

A quorum not being present,

On motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M., tomorrow, Wednesday, 28th.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 28, 1870,

9 O'CLOCK A. M.

[5] Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Credentials of members presented and the following delegates admitted to seats:

CHEROKEE NATION	O. H. P. Brewer
	J. A. Scales
	S. M. Taylor
	Stealer
MUSKOKEE NATION	Timothy Barnard

On motion an informal committee of five was appointed to report upon the organization and order of business for the General Council.

Committee:—W. P. Ross, P. Porter, F. King, S. H. Benge, A. Captain.

A quorum not being present,

On motion, Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Report of informal committee received.

On motion action was deferred until a quorum should be present.

A quorum not being present, on motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M., tomorrow.

THURSDAY, Sept. 29, 1870,
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

[6] Credentials presented and the following delegates admitted to seats:

MUSKOKEE NATION	J. M. C. Smith
CHEROKEE NATION	Moses Alberty
	Ezekial Proctor
	Joseph Vann
GREAT AND LITTLE OSAGES	Wah-tah-in-kah

A quorum being present, Council proceded to business.

Preceding minutes read and adopted.

Report of informal committee submitted for action.

REPORT:

The Committee on order of business, report and recommend,

1st. That the provisions of the twelfth article of the treaty of August 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation be adopted as the present basis of the power and duties of the General Council of the Indian Territory.

2d. That a majority of delegates entitled to seats in the General Council shall be necessary to constitute a quroum for the transaction of businness, but a less number during a lawful session thereof may adjourn from day to day and adopt such measures as may be deemed necessary to compel the attendance of absent members.

3d. There shall be elected by the General Council a Secretary whose duty shall be such as are defined by Treaty.

4th. There shall be elected in like manner one Doorkeeper whose duties shall be prescribed by order of the President.

[7] 5th. That a committee of seven members be appointed by the President to report rules for the government of the Council in the transaction and order of business.

6th. That there shall be appointed by the President the following standing Committees for the session whose duty it shall be to consider and report, by bill or otherwise, upon subjects that may be referred to them by order of the Council, to-wit:

1st. A Committee on Relations with the United States.
2d. A Committee on International Relations.
3d. A Committee on the Judiciary.
4th. A Committee on Finance.
5th. A Committee on Education and Agriculture.
6th. A Committee on Enrolled Bills.

J. R. Moore offered the following amendment: In first paragraph, after the words "General Council of the Indian Territory" insert "nor shall said Council legislate on any matters pertaining to the organization, laws or customs of the several tribes."

Amendment lost.

Report of the Committee adopted.

On motion, election of Secretary was deferred until Monday, Oct. 3d.

Robert Carr was duly elected Doorkeeper.

[8] The following standing Committees were appointed by the President:

Committee on Relations with the United States:

W. P. Ross, S. H. Benge, G. W. Stidham, S. W. Perryman and L. Flint.

Committee on Intern[*ation*]*al Relations:*

Allen Ross, P. Porter, Francis King, Keokuk, Augustus Captain, J. A. Scales and J. R. Moore.

Committee on Judiciary:

Riley Keys, G. W. Stidham, S. M. Taylor, Edward Black, and Augustus Captain.

Committee on Finance:

J. A. Scales, Moses Alberty, J. M. C. Smith, L. C. Perryman, and John White.

Committee on Education and Agriculture:

J. M. Perryman, O. H. P. Brewer, Joseph Vann, Tim. Barnard, Wm. Connor, J. M. C. Smith, and W. P. Ross.

Committee on Enrolled Bills:

W. P. Ross, J. A. Scales, and J. M. Perryman.

Committee on Rules for the government of the Council in the transaction and order of business:

W. P. Ross, G. W. Grayson, G. W. Stidham, R. Keys, F. King, and G. Lane.

On motion, Council adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Credentials presented and the following delegates admitted to seats:

SEMINOLE NATION,	Fus-hat-che Harjo. John F. Brown.

[9] On motion, the following Resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, that the Committee on Education be instructed to report in writing, as near as may be practicable, the population of the nations and tribes represented in the General Council, the amount of their respective school funds, the number of schools in operation among them, the system under which they are managed and the general state of education in the Indian Territory.

Resolved, that the Committee on Judiciary be instructed to report a bill or bills which shall provide for the arrest and extradition of criminals and offenders escaping from one tribe to another tribe, and for the administration of justice between members of different tribes of the Indian Territory, and persons other than Indians and members of said tribes and nations.

Resolved, that the Committee on Intern[ation]al Relations be instructed to report a bill or bills to regulate matters pertaining to the intercourse and relations of the Indian tribes and nations resident in the Indian Territory.

Report of Committee on Rules for the government of the Council in the transaction and order of business received and adopted.

REPORT:

In order to expedite and conduct the proceedings of the present Council with some regard to the rules governing other similar assemblies, the Committee appointed for that purpose would respectfully recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the Council now assembled at Okmulgee, C. N., agreeable with treaties of 1866, in the transaction and order of business, towit:

1st. That the Council shall meet daily (Sunday excepted) at 9 o'clock A. M., unless otherwise ordered by the Council.

2d. When called to order by the President it shall be the duty of the Secretary to call the roll and read the journal of the preceding session.

[10]3d. All propositions and motions before being acted upon shall be duly interpreted to all the tribes present.

4th. Voting on all propositions shall be done by raising the right hand, but the ayes and nays shall be taken and duly recorded by the Secretary when it is so desired by ten members.

5th. Any member wishing to make a motion or discuss a proposition shall arise to his feet and address the presiding officer as "Mr. President" and confine himself to the subject under consideration and abstain from all remarks of a personal or offensive character. Any member transgressing the foregoing rule shall be called to order by the presiding officer and not be allowed to proceed without his consent.

6th. No motion shall be entertained by the Council unless such motion shall have been seconded.

7th. All bills and resolutions requiring the action of the Council shall be reduced to writing and read three several times before being acted upon.

8th. The style of the action of the Council shall be "Be it enacted (or resolved) by the General Council of the Indian Territory."

9th. A motion to adjourn shall at all times be in order.

On motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

FRIDAY, Sept. 30, 1870,
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Preceding minutes read and adopted.

[11]Committee on Education and Agriculture asked for and was granted further time.

Committee on the Judiciary asked for and was granted further time.

On motion, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory, That the Committee on Relations with the United States be instructed to report a memorial to the President of the same, setting forth our relations with the General Government, as defined by treaty stipulation and protesting against any legislation by Congress impairing the obligation of any treaty provision, and especially against the creation of any government over the Indian Territory other than that of the General Council; and also against the sale or grant of any lands directly or contingent upon the extinguishment of the Indian title, to any railroad company or corporation now chartered for the purpose of constructing a railroad from a point north to any point south, or from a point east to any point west through the Indian Territory, or the construction of any other railroad, other than those authorized by existing treaties.

On motion Council adjourned until 2 P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Clement N. Vann, delegate from the Cherokee Nation admitted to a seat.

A communication from the Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation to Superintendent Hoag was submitted [12] in which he stated that no delegates to the General Council had been elected or appointed and no provision made authorizing him to do so; also one from the authorities of the Chickasaw Nation, stating that owing to the shortness of time, from the reception of the notice until the meeting of this Council, it would be impossible for the representatives of that nation to be present at the meeting of the Council but that they would attend at as early a day as possible.

On motion of C. N. Vann, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory: That the nations parties to the treaties of 1866 making provisions for the organization of this Council hold that in good faith they are bound by those provisions.

Resolved further, That it is the sense of this Council that any nation party to the treaties referred to, or included within the provisions are, and *ought to be bound* by the authority and action of this Council, whether they send delegates to, or participate in its deliberations or not.

On motion Council adjourned until 7 o'clock P. M.

SEVEN O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Credential presented and the following delegate admitted to a seat:

CHEROKEE NATION Stand Watie.

[13]On motion the following resolutions were presented and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The short notice given of the convening of the General Council of the Indian Territory has prevented the attendance of delegates from some of the nations entitled to representation in the same, therefore,

Be it Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory, That, when this Council adjourns to-day, it will be to meet again at 10 A. M., at this place on the first Monday in December next, unless otherwise ordered by the Secretary of the Interior.

Resolved, That the standing committees appointed under the rules of the Council be continued, and instructed to report in full upon the several subjects referred to them at that time by order of the Council.

Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to furnish a copy of these resolutions to the executives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, and request the attendance of delegates from their nations at the adjourned sessions of the General Council of the Indian Territory.

On motion the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory, That there be conveyed to the Comanche, Kiowa, Arapahoe Cheyenne, Caddo, Wichita and other tribes of Indians living on the Plains, assurances of the friendship and kind feelings of the nations represented in this General Council and an expression of their earnest wish that relations of peace may be established between them and all men of whatever race or color.

Resolved further, That Ok-tar-har-sars-Harjo be authorized and requested by the General Council to convey the foregoing resolutions to said Indians and to earnestly invite them to meet us in Council at our session in December next.

On motion the Secretary was requested to send a transcript of the resolution to said Indians, with [14] names of all the delegates at this Council attached, designating the tribes to which they belong.

On motion the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the Committee on Education and Agriculture be instructed to report fully as may be practicable upon the condition of agriculture in the Indian Territory, including the area of land in cultivation, the crops produced, the different plants and cereals adapted to the climate and soil, and the best methods of cultivating such crops and increasing the industry of the people in agricultural pursuits.

C. N. Vann was added to the Committee on relations with the United States, Committee on the Judiciary and Committee on Enrolled Bills;

John F. Brown was added to the Committee on relations with the United States and Committee on Enrolled Bills.

On motion, Council adjourned.

ENOCH HOAG,
Pres't and Sup't of Indian Affairs.

I. G. VORE, *Secretary.* [pro tem].

OKLAHOMA AS A PART OF THE SPANISH DOMINION, 1763-1803

By the treaty of Fontainbleau, November 3, 1762, Louis XV, on account of affection and friendship which he felt for his cousin Charles III of Spain, made him a gift of the country named Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the Island in which the city is situated, and by this gift Oklahoma received a new king and became a part of the Spanish Empire. This treaty was kept secret, and the King of France continued to govern Louisiana until 1766, when Don Antonio de Ulloa arrived to take possession in the name of the king of Spain.

When Louis XV offered western Louisiana to Spain, Charles III at first refused the gift, but after reconsidering, accepted. To Spain this gift was not very attractive, because Louisiana at this time was not only destitute of intrinsic value, it was a positive deficit. Neglect and misgovernment had brought the whole province of Louisiana into a deplorable condition. The different military posts in Louisiana had been used by the French as merely rewards to some favorite, and not all of them helped to build up the territory. When Louisiana was ceded to Spain, most of the inhabitants lived south of Point Coupee.

The Arkansas region was the most sparsely settled. After the cession to Spain, and even before, this region was the center of the discontented and the lawless. This was the land of "the bad man of America." Here beyond the pale of civilization, roamed the renegade Frenchman and the half-breed, who, under the name of hunters had become outlaws. Athanase De Mezieres, in describing the condition in 1770, says, "On the Arkansas River there lives, under the name of hunters, some men of whose pernicious customs I must give your lordship a brief account, confident that you will design to repress the excessive abuses which flow each day from the unbridled proceedings of these people, more and more to the service of God and the king, and of the welfare and peace of the subjects.

"I will not go into details, since it is so vulgar a matter, in telling your lordship that most of those who live there have either deserted from the troops and ships of the most Christian king or have committed robberies, rape or homicide, that river thus being the asylum of the most wicked persons without doubt in all the Endes. They live so forgetful of the laws that it is easy to find persons who have not returned to Christian lands for ten, twenty or thirty years, and who pass their scandalous lives in public concubinage with captive Indian women who, for this purpose, they purchase among the heathen, loaning those of whom they tire to others of less power, that they may labor in their service, giving them no other wages than the promise of quieting their lascivious passion; in short they have no other rule than their own caprice and the respect which they pay the boldest and most daring who control them, would that, limiting themselves like brutes, to so infamous a mode of living, they might not continually go beyond to disturb the peace of these territories."[1]

Chief of these Arkansas outlaws at this time was Brindamur, a French Canadian, who by his gigantic strength made himself a petty king over the rest.

Perrin du Lac in describing the conditions that existed in the Arkansas country says: "The inhabitants, almost all originally French, who have emigrated from Canada, are hunters by profession, and only cultivate maize for the support of their houses and beasts of burden. Above half the years, only old men, women and children are seen in the village. The men hunt wild oxen, castors, and squirrels, whose skins are less valuable than those of the northern countries. When at home they pass the time in dancing, drinking or doing nothing: similar in this respect to the savages, with whom they live the greater part of the year and whose tastes and manner they contract.[2]

Spain, in taking over Louisiana, added a new problem, that had to be solved. Other problems that confronted her at this time were the ever westward advancing English, the hostility of the Indians, and Russian aggression upon the Pacific. To meet these demands was the heroic task of Charles III.

The great number of Indian tribes, in Louisiana, espe-

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1. Bolton, H. W. *Athanse de Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontiers,* 1768-1780, Vol. 1, p. 166.
2. Perrin Du Lac, *Travels Through the Two Louisianas,* p. 83.

cially in the Arkansas River region, in whom France had spent a century creating a hatred toward the Spanish, had to be brought to Spanish allegiance. Spain had the burden of winning and restoring the Osages and other tribes who had been enemies of the French and who might be counted upon to continue their hostilities toward the province of Louisiana regardless of the change of ownership. Then the Comanche, the Wichita and the Tonkawa must be brought under control. These tribes could formerly be treated as enemies, now they were in the very heart of Spanish territory. They, like the Apache, either had to be expelled, exterminated or brought to allegiance. Also, all these new tribes must be kept hostile to the advancing English, and to keep the English from crossing the Mississippi.

Jacob Du Breuil, Commander of the Arkansas Post, now changed to Fort Charles III, in his report to the Governor of Louisiana of the conditions of the Arkansas region, sent the following letter, which had come into his possession: " We the subscribers do certify that the Bearer Hunkasha, a chief of the Arkansas Nation, has always ever since our acquaintance with him, professed a sincere friendship to the English and by various instances proved it, for which he hath received from Captain Thos. Thomas his majesty's colonies medal. He has been offered large presents by the Spanish to deliver them up, but he rejects the Spanish and their presents and always appears steadfast in his friendship to the English. Therefore we recommend him to be respected by His British Majesty's loyal subjects. Given under our hand at Concord, Mississippi, July 1st, 1777."

Stephen Hayward
John Kennedy
Mich. Smith
Mathew Gray."[3]

Spain, to meet the situation that confronted her in Louisiana, was forced to adopt a new Indian policy. Spain had always relied upon the Mission and Presidial guards to control the Indians. But in this new territory acquired from the French, she retained France's Indian policy, as the line of the least resistance. That was, to control through fur trade and presents. Frenchmen were retained to carry out the policy. These traders had the task of making known to the Indian tribes of the transfers, and the fact that the Spaniard and the Frenchman were no longer at war. but were brothers. It was rather a difficult task for, for over a hunderd years the Indian in the southwest had been the tool in carrying on the hostilities between French and the Spanish. It was hard for him to reconcile the fact that he was to live in peace with the tribes which he had waged war against at the white man's own request and leadership. The normal state of the plains Indian was war, and it was much easier to bring about a war than it was peace.

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[3] *General Archives of the Indies,* Papers de Cuba, 107.

The Arkansas Post was the center of control for the Indians in the Arkansas River region, which included the tribes of the Arkansas nation, Touacara of the Canadian River, the Comanche and the Apache further west. It was the duty of the commander of the Post to keep all these various tribes living in harmony with each other and with Spain. The following extracts are taken from reports of the Commander of the Post, which bring out some of the difficulties that confronted a frontier post, and, especially the frontier of the Arkansas region. This region was far away from the center of control. One of the great problems of the frontier post was to get supplies and presents for the Indians. These gifts were, or had become, a necessity in maintaining peace and friendship among the Indians.

ARCHIVES OF THE INDES
SEVILLE
PAPERS OF CUBA 107

Extracts from the letters of Don Francisco De Masilleres (Desmasillers) from the first of January until the last of June, 1770. Written from the Arkansas (Post).

February 15

A party of Chactas Indians came to the Post to make peace.

The Chactas offered to make peace for four pounds of gunpowder, eight gun-shots (bullets), four bottles of spiritous liquor, two ounces of vermillion, and some bread.

I suggest that you make allowance for these and other small expenses which arise daily; it is necessary to have not less than four thousand trinkets for the savages, and two casks of spiritous liquor, and a dozen white covers (part of table service) in order to entertain during the year the foreign visitors who arrive here.

March 4

The savages find it strange that they are not always given drink when they come to this Post, and I beg that two casks of liquor be sent because one cannot meet these expenses from his own pocket.

Their Grand Chief says that the Government should deprive them of this liquor altogether. This certainly would cut expenditures. Also, they should not be given gifts until all the savages arrive, as this would oblige us to make duplicate presents in bread and wine, which expenses if seen continued would empty one's purse.

May 15

The Arkansas nation having taken false alarm, believing that the Chactas were coming against them, applied to the commandant of this Post, in order that he might aid them by giving them powder and bullets though he did not dare to deliver to them the one hundred pounds of gunpowder which he had obtained himself; but at the same time the inhabitants of the Post gave them twenty-seven pounds of gunpowder and bullets in proportion.

The same day of the false alarm the Ylinuars presented themselves to the Commandant saying that they had not a grain of powder and that he would be obliged to supply them; he gave them ten shares of powder, twenty bullets, also he gave the soldiers of the Garrison three pounds of cartridge because the Ylinuars established themselves half a league from here which is midway from the Arcanzas and who knows but that they are aggrieved because they have not been given more presents?

I beg that two hundred shares of gunpowder be sent for the store house because in case of a strong attack, to surrender to the savages even though we defended ourselves well, would have a bad effect upon our nation. I account to this possibility, the evil rumors which have got out that Spain cannot defend her establishments against attack, and which I cannot destroy notwithstanding the careful attention I put on it.

There arrived here Don Pedro Piernas, called Perraquier, from the chief of the Aufaubulas Indians, who has described vividly the thousands of invectives among the savages against the Spanish. Some of the charges are to the effect that if the Chactas come to attack them no one would have the blame but the Spanish and the French; because protection is not given; in view of which, I called a council of the chiefs and made various explanations of these rumors, assuring them that the Spanish nation would always look after them with tender concern and that if they could conduct themselves well they would have annually the same gifts which they had always been given, and that they must not believe anything they heard; upon which the chiefs were assured and departed.

News has just been received that the Anjajes Indians on all occasions insult the hunters of the River (Cazadares del Rio) and that it would be advantageous to send the Arcanzas nation against them in order to divert them from the Rio; for it would increase considerably the trade in meats, pelts, and oil.

The hunters have already begun to come down from the Rio and if they all do not return there will be no lawful hunters up there (Rio) and this would go hard with those who would trade here.

May 20

I have given license to a man named Mansero who came down from Point Cartada to marry with one of the daughters of Madame Francour.

Complaints were entered against Don Joseph Orieta and he asked the concession that he be not judged without listening to him, and that he will give with ready compliance, proofs against that which is said of him. It is judged that Orieta has taken the advantage of writing against me since the false alarm; because the women filled with fear came to ask protection, upon which we accordingly compressed ourselves as much as possible in order that we might make room. With this motive in view I entreated Mr. Espaxlier, an old official, to go to sleep in the quarters where they offer prayers, which is a room without furnishings of a church but just as all the other quarters, and where the old captain slept. I also gave a room in the fort to the wife of an official who had recently married here; and I gave quarters to a German who is a poor officer who has nothing with which to pay for his lodgings. I also wished I might have taken for a servant, an old Indian woman of sixty years of age who has two daughters, one of thirteen years and the other of seventeen years; because the surgeon named Menar came to her house drunk one night and tried to force his entrance. This gave her the right to complain, asking me to take her into my house since she and her daughters were frightened every day of their lives. The good reputation of this woman is admitted after examination of her conduct in this colony for nineteen years, and she must be given protection.

It is easy to see the desire with which Don Joseph Orieta awaits the command (of the Garrison) but he would not be zealous in his duties. He has not the carefulness necessary, he has no method of keeping a journal. It is said that he is disliked by the savages, who will not bring him meat or furs—and this is necessary for life here. He never visits them nor assists them in the Council of the Chiefs. Before his arrival all was tranquil; but now the inhabitants and savages, who dislike him, speak only of abandoning the Post. All the chiefs of the nation say they wish to go down to the city, or that they wish to establish themselves on the Colorado River; notwithstanding this, they give evidence by their good judgment, that they are worth detaining as subjects and as satisfying.

Pardon has been sought for Sergeant Miler who is very discontented because of his punishment, and all the French soldiers of the Garrison complain bitterly that he was punished without cause and that they will desert if he is not given reparations. It is said that he is a tale-bearer and capable, by his conversation, of breaking up the Garrison. It is hoped that we will give way to the charges against him in order that he can be justified before the court. It is a fault that some do not know the practices, customs, and laws of the Spanish service and in this case it is petitioned that he be excused from the offences which he has incurred because of his ignorance.

It is reported that the soldier Juan Bautista Baras has broken his leg and it is asked that someone replace him in the Garrison.

ONE WITHOUT DATE

In answer to the suggestion that was made to the effect that not enough of the necessary care has been taken in spreading among the Indian nations the value of the Spanish, I reply that I have not neglected to teach, with the spiritous liquor, the most favorable ideas regarding our nation. I attribute the little progress in this work to the public peace which came with the Spaniards.

Don Pedro Piernas arrived here with six men from the Garrison, having left six others in their places.

An order has been issued to all the hunters who are in the River to return here inside of two months under the penalty of paying the expenses which they occasioned for the savages who were sent in their search, they having stopped in the city where they said they were well protected.

The Decrees have all been published as has been directed.

Don Joseph Orieta complained that he was not given good lodging upon his arrival, and he had said through Don Pedro Piernas that he should be granted proper entertainment because of the appearance of etiquette and in order to create good harmony, peace and friendship.

The savages wished to leave the Post hoping to be relieved of Don Joseph Orieta and they spoke of establishing themselves with the Aufages; but I said to them that whether Don Joseph stayed here or not, it would be safe for them.

A man by the name of Renis, with his family, left for the Ylenaecaca and there was no difficulty in giving him the permission for he is a very bad, unruly subject.

Permission has been given to Furgan and to Rosela to go to Ylenaeses to marry with Angelica and Ana Franzoen.

I have delivered to the savages the following gifts, a bell, a large caldron of copper. A box of surgical instruments should be sent to the Post on the first occasion.

I have commanded that the negroes without baptism receive intelligent instruction from the Curate with this end in view.

An Indian chief by the name of Granmergre has selected one by the name of Turque to help him. Turque is the better of the savages in that he inspires among them more fear and obedience. For this courage and valor he was given a small medal; it would be too dangerous to give him a large medal because this would create jealousy.

Don Pedro Piernas left a soldier here but we have not the capital to pay his wages. Please send the funds to pay a gunsmith who began his services in January and who says he does not wish to serve as a regular soldier.

The uniform which was sent for the Sergeant, being like that of a common soldier, was not accepted because it duplicates the common uniform. Please send him another one, also send equipment for three more soldiers who recently enlisted.

You have not answered my request for a light in the Guard room. A party of ten Chicasas arrived from the Alcanza and have brought news that the Chactas wish to make peace with the Alcanza and the Chicasas declared to the Chactas that if they do not make peace with the Arcanzas that they will join the Arcanzas and make war on them, with the motive that they fix in the peace terms that the Chactas make peace with the Arcanzas.

Don Joseph Orieta was not found in this, nor in any other council of the savages.

It has been recommended to the Chicasas that they do not make war on the Ylinuares, as it indicated by their establishment in the Arkansas; but they do not wish to consent to this because they are already there and because they say the Ylinuares recently killed the son of their chief; they will not talk of peace, notwithstanding my determination to make peace between them.

Notice has been given that seven parties of savages have passed through the Rio San Francisco; one party of seventy-three men, and the other twenty-six men. One party lately has pillaged the hunters whom they found in the Rio and robbed then of their arms and ammunition.

June 4

Since your last letter, it has been ascertained that those same Chicasas were incited by the English to rob our hunters.

Also, there is news that the Ylinuares Indians, that is, the Carquasias and a part of the Peraubias, came to establish themselves with the Arcanzas owing to the constant war which the Chicasas and the Quiranas have made. Don Pedro

Piernas must continually be sent to them, and at present there is not anything in the storehouse with which to maintain the Arkansas. I ask that a little powder and bullets be sent for their use.

June 16

The hunters, Bonee, Panau, and Francour arrived at the Post with their wives and children. They had been to the city to be married and to have their children baptised. In view of their needs and their repeated demands, they have been allowed to return to the city to collect their furniture and to prepare a little salted meat for the autumn. The settlers of this Post would be more contented if there were a clergyman here to marry them and baptise their children. If a priest cannot be sent from Havana, send a Capuchin friar.

It was hoped that this month all the hunters from the Rio would come down, but I have just heard that Senor Faurnuar has sold them gunpowder and bullets against the orders. This will cause most of the hunters not to come down now. It is asked that this man not be permitted to go up there any more—he is a mischief-maker. Notwithstanding that he owed Jaun Francour the amount of 954 pesos, he secured a bond from Mr. Decluet for 700 jugs of oil whereby to pay Francour part of the sum. It is also said that Francour is indebted to Faurnaur for the spiritous liquor he sold at the Rio; but in spite of this discount Francour will still owe him the 954 pesos. A memorial was sent to Francour on this very thing.

A white man by the name of Linremision just arrived here from the Rio and having found him in the same quarters with the rest, he has been permitted to stay until autumn when he will bring up his movables from the Rio.

A party of fifteen Alcanzas Indians have gone to conclude a definite peace with the Chicasas.

June 24.

Juan Bautista Baras, the man who broke his leg, returned by the boat of Senor Faurnuar, and he has not yet had a surgeon and I am much concerned about him. A youth of eighteen years of age, by the name of Thomas, has been put in his place in consequence of orders had from Don Alexandro O'Reilly who says that there are some French soldiers not contented and who would like to be sent to the city and re-employed there.

It is believed that the young chief of the Danhau goes to dance the Calumet with the Tonicas. An attempt will be made to apprehend him as he passes the city, and for this a careful watch has been made for several days.

The best description of the Arkansas Post at the time of transfer to Spain is given by Captain Philip Pittman, "The fort is situated three leagues from the River Arcansas, and is built with stockade in a quadrangular form; the sides of the exterior polygon are about one hundred and eighty feet, and one three pounder is mounted in the flanks and face of each bastion. The buildings within the fort are, a barrack, with three rooms for the soldiers, commanding officer's house, a powder magazine, and a magazine for provisions, and an apartment for the commissary, all of which are in a ruinous condition. The fort stands about two hundred yards from the waterside, and is garrisoned by a captain, a lieutenant and thirty French soldiers, including the sergeants and corporals. Then there are eight houses without the fort, occupied by as many families, who have cleared the land about five hundred yards in depth, but on account of the sandiness of the soil, and the lowness of the situation, which make it subject to be overflowed, they do not raise the necessary provisions. These people subsist mostly by hunting and every season send to New Orleans great quantities of bears oil, tallow, salted buffalo meat, and a few skins. The Arcansas * * * are reckoned amongst the bravest of the southern Indians. They hunt little more than for their common subsistence, and are generally at war with the nations to the westward of them, as far as the river Bravo, and they bring in frequently young prisoners and horses from the Cadodaquiso, Paneise and Podoquias, of which they dispose of to the best advantage."[4]

The English established posts on the Mississippi in order to prevent the Spanish and the French from trading with the Chactas. The Spanish built forts on the opposite side of the river to keep the English out. But Daniel Boone and the long hunters had started west, and it would take more than the decadent Spanish nation and hostile Indians to keep them out. One of Spain's difficult problems in Louisiana was controlling the waterways. The Arkansas River was an important highway. This river from the earliest offered a tempting highway with the Spanish southwest. It was over this route that the Taos and Santa Fe marts were most easily reached.

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[4] Pittmans, Captain Philip. *The Present State of the European Settlement on the Mississippi*, with a geographical description of that river, illustrated by plans and draughts. Edited by Frank Hodder, pp. 82-83.

Louisiana remained under Spanish rule for forty years. During this time its prosperity was greater than it had ever been before. Fur trade at this time was the most important factor, in the development of the West. It is estimated that in 1771 the pelts worth between seventy-five and one hundred pounds sterling were exported from New Orleans.

Contest for the control of Louisiana through control and trade grew more intense preceding the Revolutionary War. In spite of the ever watchfulness of the Spanish government, the English traders were gaining ground. In order to offset this influence, it was advised that the Spanish merchants be granted free trade as soon as possible and that forts be built on Spanish territory opposite the mouth of the river flowing into the Mississippi.

Throughout the Revolution, the Spanish governor of Louisiana was appealed to for assistance. Such appeals as that from General Charles Lee, who spoke for the Virginia Committee of Safety. "Should Great Britain succeed in subjugating the colonies," Lee wrote, "her army and navy would be free at any moment to take possession of Mexico and Cuba." With American independence, Spain's posssssions, it was maintained, need not fear."[5]

After the American Revolution, Spain again had the task of rebuilding and fortifying the frontier posts, especially along the Mississippi. Jacob du Breuil, Commander of Fort Charles III on the Arkansas (the old Arkansas Post), gives a detailed account in his report of 1784 of the rebuilding and plans to rebuild this fort. The immediate danger was more apparent to the north and south, and consequently the St. Louis and New Orleans territory were the first to be re-enforced.

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5. James, James A. Spanish Influence in the West During the American Revolution. Mississippi Valley Review. Vol. 4, p. 193.

GENERAL ARCHIVES OF THE INDES
Seville, Spain
Papers of Cuba No. 107

Folio I. My dear sir:

In these drafts of the year 1783 are included the usual and splendid accounts of the Indians, the attacks that have taken place, the two plans for defense, the flag, and of a naval arsenal magazine to protect the lives of the troops * * I do not know if these drafts will be very intelligible for I have no formulary for my guidance. With regard to the expenditures I have been as economical as has been possible.

A tax-list is added of the three villages of the said Indians, with an account of the gifts which can be made of them each year, an account of which John Ventura Morales asked me to make and which he has not been able to verify until at the present time, because on account of a lack of food supplies the Indians have been wandering around over the mountains and they have only come together this month to prepare their fields for cultivation.

May Heaven guide you throughout your life.

Fort Charles III, Arkansas, May 1st, 1784.

Accept my sincerest regards and my most humble service
Jacobo Du Breuil
(Rubric)

Senor Don Estevan Miro.

In 1794, Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, in reporting the military condition of the province, says: "here still remains one passage too close to the enemy, by which, if they should force this passage * * * they might be able to penetrate into the region of lower Louisiana. It * * * is the Arkansas River which is navigable for keel boats. By it the enemy might enter as far as the town located at a distance of twelve leagues, from its junction with the Mississippi, and thence pass by means of a well known and passable road to the settlements of the Ouachita, Ottakopas, Natchitoches, etc. By constructing a fort and redoubt of earth and sod in the same place where the present fort is located (which since it is nothing but a girdle of stakes occupied by a garrison of thirty men, can be of no use except against the Indians) it is evident that a garrison of one hundred men could be furnished in time of war from Nogales, joined to a like number of military men, all excellent hunters, who live in the town and lastly to some two hundred very valiant warriors of the Arkansas Nation * * * could advantageously dispute with the enemy the ascent of the river, and offer the same difficulties to dissuade them from undertaking a dangerous expedition through a level country."[6] The Governor recommended the fortifying of this one last post of defense.

The Arkansas country then contained two important highways, the one leading to the settlements in New Mexico, Santa Fe, and Taos, following the Arkansas and the Canadian Rivers, the other toward the southwest, into Lower Louisiana, connecting the Arkansas Post with Natchitoches Post. From earliest times a counter-band trade, in horses and mules, had grown up between the Indians on the Arkansas and those north and south.

Following the Revolutionary War, a large number of American settlers pushed into the region west of the Alleghenies, to the north and the south. Their only outlet was the Mississippi River. The East was slow in realizing the demand of the West for the navigation of the Mississippi. This brought about many schemes, which led to some very interesting filibustering expeditions into the southwest. George Rogers Clark and men like him were willing to join Spain in developing the interior of the continent.

The same old policy, that Spain had used, almost for centuries, attempting to hold her territory by building up a buffer state was again used. Baron de Corondelet, then Governor of Louisiana, gave land grants to Americans who wanted to settle in the Arkansas region. In 1798, William Gabriel, Elisha Winter and Joseph Stillwell and their families settled near the Post, on land grants that had been given them the previous year.[7] Spain hoped to forestall the westward march of the American pioneer by settling the country. When Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, Americans were there.

—*Anna Lewis.*

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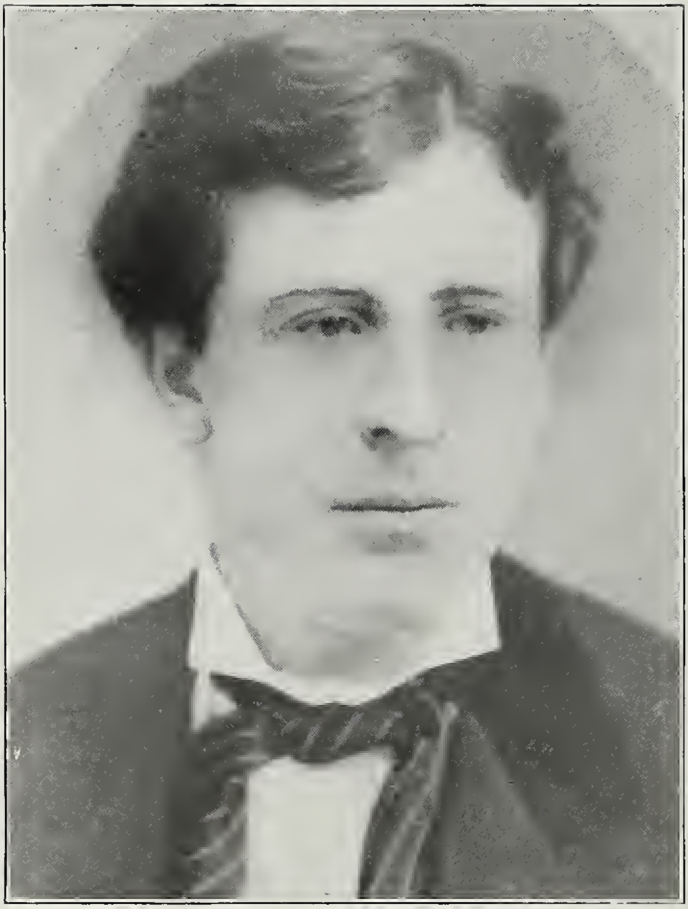
[6] 6. Robinson, *Louisiana Under Spain and France,* Vol. I, p. 308-9. Military Report on Louisiana and West Florida, by Baron de Carondelet, Governor of Louisiana, November 24, 1794.

[7] 7. Goodspeed, W. A. *The Provinces and the States,* Vol. III, p. 253.



Henry C. Keeling
From Photo in 1881

MY EXPERIENCE WITH THE CHEYENNE INDIANS

Address by Henry C. Keeling, of Caldwell, Kansas, before the thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Kansas State Historical Society, December 7, 1909.

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In the winter of 1879 I was appointed post trader at Cantonment, in what was then known as the Indian Territory. The post is described in the official records as "Cantonment on the west side of the North Fork of the Canadian River." This post was established a short time after the raid of Dull Knife, through western Kansas, in 1878. The site preferred for the post by General Sheridan was at what was known as Sheridan's Roost, where he had been very successful in killing wild turkeys during the winter of 1868-9, although he finally selected a location in the hills at what is known as Barrel Springs. Col. Richard I. Dodge was in command of the Twenty-third Infantry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, at the time the post was establishsed. He with a detachment of his regiment, left the cars at Dodge City and marched in by way of Fort Supply. When he reached Barrel Springs he was not satisfied with the location, it being in the sand hills, and he considered the place unhealthy. Colonel Dodge therefore located the cantonment about eight miles south, on the North Fork of the Canadian.

A great many Indians were camped in the vicinity of this post shortly after its establishment. Little Raven, an Arapahoe, was chief of quite a large band, as was also Stone Calf, a noted Southern Cheyenne Indian, whose band had massacred the Germaine family, in the fall of 1874, excepting four girls, whom he had kept as prisoners. They were afterward recaptured by Lieut. Frank D. Baldwin, of the Fifth Infantry, a detachment of Gen. Nelson A. Miles' command.

In July, 1876, after the Custer massacre, I had left Fort Leavenworth, where I had been with my brother, Maj. Wm. H. Keeling, to go to the mouth of Tongue River, Montana, where Gen. Nelson A. Miles was building Fort Keogh, in the winter of 1876-7. My brother, in 1879, resigned his position as quartermaster of the second battalion Thirteenth U. S. Infantry, to take the position of post trader at Cantonment, I. T., at the request of Generals Sherman and Sheridan, having been Sherman's quartermaster during his march to the sea. During my stay at Fort Keogh I first met the Cheyenne Indians, General Miles having captured Crazy Horse's band of Northern Cheyennes during the spring of 1877. As my duties as quartermaster's clerk brought me in contact with the Indians continually in issuing their rations, I learned their language, a very difficult thing to do. I am referring back to the time of 1876-7, to draw the attention more particularly to the friendship of the Cheyennes when they once take a liking to any person. I became quite friendly here with Black Wolf, a noted Cheyenne who was afterward killed at or near the Standing Rock Agency by Capt. Henry W. Wessells, of the Third Cavalry, and another, by the name of Stone. At the time of my appointment as post trader at Cantonment, in 1879, I was erecting a tent and it was raining very hard, when this old man Stone came to my assisstance. I did not recognize him, although he kept calling me "Arkeese," a name which the Indians had given me at Fort Keogh. After having a conversation with him I remembered having met the old gentleman, and he was with me continually thereafter while I was at Cantonment, some four years.

In 1880 we had a great deal of trouble with the Cheyennes because the Interior Department had cut down their rations, although game was very scarce. Many of these Indians had recently came in from the warpath in the North, and in August, 1877, had been brought to the Agency of the Southern Cheyennes, in the Territory. They had lived upon buffalo and were really starving on the short rations furnished by the Government. They would not eat wild turkey, which was plentiful at that time, as they claimed it would make cowards of them, nor would they eat fish; nothing but beef or buffalo.

About this time, I became personally acquainted with Young White Horse, a chief of the "Dog Soldiers," they, as you know, being a secret military organization, and he afterwards proved to be one of my best friends, of which I will tell you later.

Black Wolf I first met at Fort Keogh, Montana, in a fight which he had with a party known there as a "wolfer"—a white man living the life of a trapper only so far as poisoning wolf and coyote is concerned. In this fight, one of Black Wolf's eyes was destroyed by the wolfer. I happened to be present and took him to the hospital and looked after his welfare. At the time of the trouble with rations in the territory, Black Wolf came to Cantonment with his band of Northern Cheyennes who were all young warriors anxious to go on the warpath, not realizing that, should they do so, it would be but a short time before they would be wiped out. The young warriors came into the store and were very saucy, demanding that I give them this and that; in fact, the best goods that I had. I tried to intimidate the Indians by telling them that two regiments of troops were then on the way from the end of the railroad at Caldwell, Kan., and should they insist on taking my goods they would have trouble. They paid no attention to that and quite a number took some of my best goods. About that time Black Wolf came in, and looking, at me for a few minutes, said, in Cheyenne, "Did I not meet you at the Big Wapowats?" meaning a camp at the mouth of the Tongue River. I said, "Yes, I used to live there," and I recognized him and remembered the fight he had with wolfer. He at once called the attention of all the young warriors, and stated to them that I was a friend of his, and had assisted him when he was in difficulty, and that if any of them should in any way cause me trouble he would kill the offender. They stopped right there, as Black Wolf had a reputation for doing exactly what he said he would do. Our position at Cantonment was dangerous, although we did not realize it.

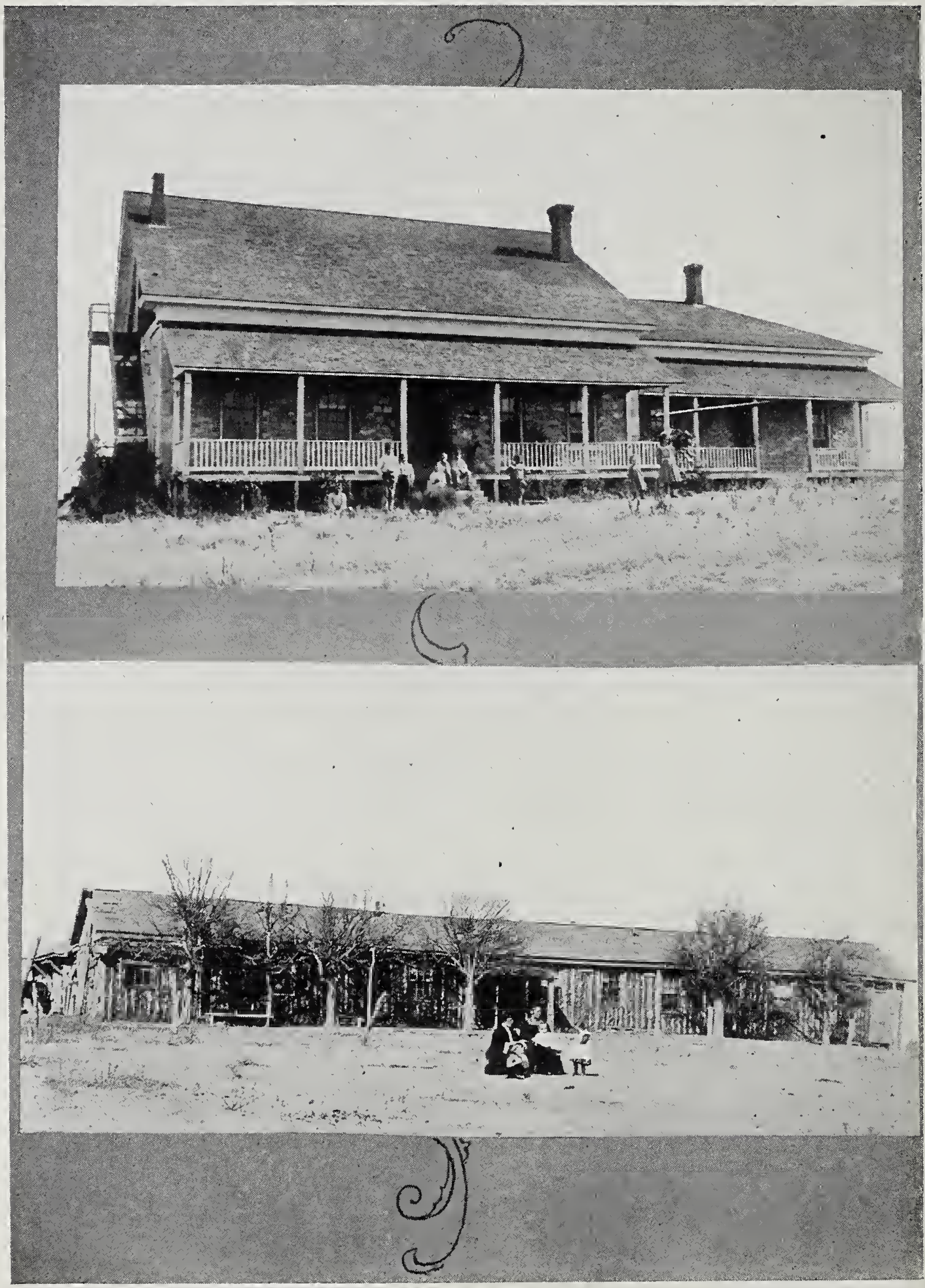
A few days after this transaction a number of old warriors and Dog Soldiers were in the quartermaster's office awaiting a courier whom they had sent to Darlington Indian agency to ascertain if the agent, John D. Miles, intended to increase their rations. While there, each of the old men got up and counted his queues; that is, told the number of white men he had killed and where he had killed them. I do not know what possessed me at this time, but being young and not having the right sense of our situation, as a person should, I pinned a newspaper to the blanket of an old fellow named Bark and set it afire. When he felt the heat from the burning paper he became very angry. It was extinguished by Young White Horse. Bark stated before the old warriors that he would kill me before evening. It was then about twelve o'clock. After taking me to the back of the building, Young White Horse asked me "Are you masoney?" interpreted as meaning "crazy." I told him that I realized what I had done. He had a very fast horse tied to a post back of the store, and said to me, "I will know when I see the courier coming whether we get the rations or not. If we do not, you take the horse and go. Pay no attention to anyone else, because our young men mean to kill all the white men at the post." About an hour afterward, I noticed an Indian riding a horse on quite a prominent hill which overlooked the valley of the Canadian River, and Young White Horse said to me, "There's the courier. If he makes a circle three times and gets off his horse we are to have the rations; if he makes four circles and rides south, we're to go on the warpath." He made a circle three times and go off his horse and pointed south, and we knew then that the rations were to be issued. The young warriors seemed to go wild in being defeated in their plan of going on the warpath. During the entire summer the Indians were very bold, stopping freight teams from Caldwell, and taking provisions; even cattlemen could not protect themselves against the depredations committed by these young fellows. Maj. George M. Randall was then in command at Fort Reno, and only through him did we receive any protection at all, as he was fearless, and having the noted scout, Ben Clark, a brave man also, with him, he did not hesitate in telling the Indians just what they had to do.

Another instance of an Indian's gratitude was the case of a young fellow by the name of Abseney, or Bad Face. I was asked by the quartermaster if I would take $7000, which he had on hand from the sale of commissaries, to Fort Leavenworth, as I was going to that post. The stage company did not carry a cash box, and sending by me was the only way he had of getting the money to the chief quartermaster. I told our quartermaster that I would leave the post about sundown, as I intended to make Pond Creek stage station the next morning, thereby escaping, as I thought, the rustlers (white men with renegade Indians) who were holding up freighters and other parties. After crossing what is known as the Hog Back, a range of hills on the Cimarron, Bad Face and I were following down a long draw to the Cimarron, when he said to me, "Arkeese, some one is following us." I hardly believed it until we rode to the top of the hill, when I saw four men riding toward us very rapidly, but who stopped as soon as they saw they were observed by us. Bad Face said, "We will fool them. We will go into camp early and slip out at night." This we did, leaving a bright camp fire, and reached Pond Creek in safety.

The spring of 1881 the Twenty-fourth Infantry, under command of Maj. Richard F. O'Beirne, was stationed at Cantonment to take the place of the Twenty-third Infantry, which was stationed in the Uncompahgre Valley, Colo. These troops had served on the Rio Grande, in Texas, from the close of the Civil War and had never had any experience with Indians. A short time after reaching the post, a number of young officers asked me if I would accompany them to the Indian encampment about two miles from the cantonment, for the purpose of seeing an Indian dance. I agreed to do so and we walked over that evening. The tepee entered by us belonged to one of the squaws of old man Bark, who had threatened to kill me. I did not know it at the time or I should not have gone in, but on seeing my mistake decided that it would not do for me to hesitate or show fear. Old Bark was sitting in the tepee with a number of other Indians, and among them was Stone, my friend from Tongue river, Montana. As soon as Bark saw who it was he lit his pipe and passed it among the Indians who were sitting along the side of the tepee, and I being at the extreme end was the last to receive the pipe. I refused to take it on the ground that Bark had threatened to kill me and I did not propose to make friends with him in that way. As soon as I had refused he jumped up and commenced counting his queue and said he would kill me as soon as he could go to his own tepee and secure his gun. Stone was standing next to me and said to me in Cheyenne, "Arkeese, I am going to give you my six-shooter and you must return to the post as fast as you possibly can, but should Bark overtake you, you must use this to defend yourself." I told the officers that I had business at the post and was going to make a run for it. They asked me my hurry and stated that they wanted to see the Indian dance. I said, "Not this evening; we will see that later on." And I believe that we three men never made a better run than we did that evening. Bark afterward became a very warm friend of mine, for I found him on the South Canadian with a broken leg, where he had been thrown from a horse, and carried him to the post, where it was set by the post surgeon.

I overlooked one experience with old Bark before I found him with the broken limb. Amos Chapman, a noted scout, and I were attending an Indian dance on the North Fork of the Canadian River about ten miles from our post, about eight or nine o'clock in the evening. We were going through some timber on the river when a shot was fired and my horse stumbled. I said to Chapman, "Old Bark has got my horse; he intended that for me." When we came to the Indian lodges where I could have a light, I found that the ball had taken the leather off the pommel of my saddle, so that he gave me a close call that time.

White Horse, as I have stated before, was the chief of the Dog Soldiers in our vicinity. Through him I ascertained one day that an initiation of one of the Dog Soldiers was to take place at what is known as Red Hill, north of Fort Reno about eight or ten miles. This initiation is usually held in the spring and the Indians from all through the lower country attend in a body, even the Kiowa, Comanche and all other Indians whose young men are members of the Dog Soldiers. They make it a great holiday of a week or ten days. The candidate to be initiated on this ocasion was Bad Face, a young warrior friend of mine. For three days and nights prior to the initiation the candidate does not eat or drink anything, and must be kept awake by some member of the association. The Indians make a very large tepee, from four to five times the size of the smaller ones, seating probably from 250 to 300 Indians, to witness the ceremonies. The chief of the Dog Soldiers, Young White Horse, first cut two places in each breast of the candidate with a knife, and made similar incisions on his shoulders. He then ran a rawhide lariat through the places in his breast, and fastened it to the main centerpole of the tepee. Two dry buffalo heads were then attached to the victim's shoulder blades by a cord run through the shoulder incisions. The candidate is expected to dance and shake off the buffalo heads from his shoulders and tear loose the lariat from his breast without fainting. If he faints he is carried out by the men, and the squaws, who are not allowed in the tepee, at once take clubs and beat him to death. In some instances the candidate



Above, Officers' Quarters Cantonement
Below, One of the Stockade Barracks

is saved by some member of his family. I have been told by good authority, white men who have been among the Indians for a great many years, that I was the only white man that had ever witnessed the initiation of the Dog Soldiers.

Afterwards, when I removed to Caldwell, Kan., in 1885, the Indians were freighting their goods, as well as soldiers' supplies, to the different posts, and at times had from 75 to 125 teams in one train. Once while I was sick at home quite a number of Indians came to see me, and my neighbors thought it very strange to see the Indians sitting on the fence while the chief was in the house visiting with me.

In the spring roundup of 1881, I was with a party of cattlemen who were gathering cattle belonging to Robert Bent, a brother of George and Charlie Bent, and in some way a dispute arose between George Jones, foreman of the Dickey Brothers' ranch, and an old Indian by the name of Gray Wolf, as to the branding of a cow. Jones was cutting out this cow for the Dickey brand when Gray Wolf claimed that it was his. The majority of the cattlemen at that time were not armed, and an Indian who had an old rifle handed it to Gray Wolf for the purpose of shooting Jones. We expected trouble right there, but through Bob Bent, who was a very cool-headed half-breed, trouble was averted. It was a very tight place while it lasted, as Indians in the surrounding camps mounted their horses and came toward us with the intention of mixing in the fight should there be one.

Speaking of Bob Bent, he was a son of Col. William Bent, of old Fort Bent, on the Arkansas River, and was educated in St. Louis. At one time he was at the Cantonment when quite a number of cowboys who were returning to Texas after delivering beef herds to the raliroad at Caldwell had stopped at the post and were telling what bad men they were, and more particularly as to their prowess in killing Indians. One party whom they had nicknamed "Milliner Bill," was very loud in his talk as to his being such a bad man. Bob Bent, speaking to Lieut. M. C. Wessells, of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, who was quartermaster at the post at the time, and myself, said that it would be a good joke on the cowboys to make a charge into the room and give the Cheyenne war whoop at the same time. He believed he could make it very interesting for them. So Lieutenant Wessells and myself, with Bent, mounted our horses and rode up the river, possibly half a mile. We then came back, riding very rapidly, and rode on into the room in which the cowboys were, Bob Bent and Lieutenant Wessells shooting and giving the Indian war whoop. These brave Indian killers did not wait to go through the door but jumped through the windows, taking the sash and all with them. The last we saw of them they were on their way to Texas, not waiting to say "Good-bye."

In 1881, at the time we had a small garrison at Cantonment, the Twenty-third Regiment being in the Uncompahgre Valley (leaving us temporarily with about twenty men of Company G), old Stone Calf, a Southern Cheyenne chief, whom I have referred to before, put up his tepee within five feet of my door, and ornamented it with a string of scalps hung on a rawhide lariat. He had a number of white men's, two white women's and a number of Indian scalps. I said to him, "What are you doing this for, to try and scare some one?" He said, "Oh, I am just putting them out there to dry." I knew better. He wanted to show us few white men that he was not afraid of what we told him about a large number of soldiers being then on their way to the Cantonment. He stated to Capt. Charles Wheaton, who was then in command of the post, that unless the Government issued rations he would go on the warpath. That he would rather die fighting than to starve to death.

We had a great deal of trouble that summer and fall with renegade Indians, as they invariably demanded a gift of cattle from every herd that came up from Texas on the way to Caldwell across their reservation. The demand of these Indians became so notorious that the post commander instructed the Indian scouts to go to the South Canadian at the regular cattle crossing and tell the cattlemen that if they wanted any protection to send to the post. As the regular interpreter, whose name was Chapman, was away at the time, I did the interpreting for the post, and of course was sent to relieve these cattlemen. I stated to Buffalo, who was the leader of the band of Indians demanding toll, that these cattle belonged to me; and the first four or five herds went through without question. After a while Buffalo said to me, "You seem to own a great many cattle, and you say they are yours. But I believe you are a coyote, and not telling us the truth." Thereafter I had to have the cattlemen give the Indians two or three head from each herd that crossed, and it seemed to satisfy them.

In the fall of 1882 a cattleman by the name of Johnson had started 1000 beef cattle from Fort Cobb, then Indian Territory, to Hunnewell, Kan., to be shipped to Kansas City. The cattle were held across the river from the Cantonment, and the foreman and one of the hands came to the post and became intoxicated. Getting very saucy, he rode through the Indian scouts' camp, and firing through some the tepees killed the dog of one of the scouts, besides shooting up the trader's store. Capt. Charles C. Hood, of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, had been ordered to the post and was then in command. He also had been stationed on the Rio Grande for twenty years. He started after these two cowboys, but they got away from him. He then ordered out twenty-five mounted men of Troop K, Ninth Cavalry, which was then stationed there, and they surrounded the cowboys and took them prisoners into the post. When first brought before Major Hood they were very saucy, telling of all the fights they had had in Texas, one party stating that he had built the courthouse in the county where he was born with fines he had paid. Major Hood told him that he was a pretty bad man himself, and that he was going to send them to Fort Smith, Ark., which was the seat of justice for the Indian Territory. When the ambulance and escort came up to the adjutant's office, these two wild and woolly cowboys commenced to beg, the foreman stating that the cattle were left in his charge by the owner, and were worth from $50,000 to $75,000, and that if he should be sent to Fort Smith the owner would incur a great loss. Major Hood, knowing the owner and not wanting him to sustain any loss, agreed that if they would pay the Indians for the damage they had done, or whatever agreement that I as interpretor had made with them, he would let them go. They paid twenty dollars for the dog and gave the Indians five head of beeves, and were very fortunate to get out of it so easily.

During the summer of 1880, I was a guest at the quarters of Major Geo. M. Randall, who was then commanding Fort Reno. John D. Miles was agent of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes at Darlington, just across the river from that post. This was the time of the short rations, when the Indians were demanding an increase which the agent could not give without instructions from the Indian Department. During my visit some young Indians quirted the agent and then made a break for the sand hills south and east of Fort Reno. Major

Randall ordered out his mounted company of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, three troops of the Fourth Cavalry and one company of the Sixteenth Infantry, but, after reaching the Indian intrenchment made up his mind that it would not do to attack them, as there were at least 1500 to 2000 Indians, while his command would not exceed 300 soldiers as the companies were only 50 to 55 men strong. Returning to the post he ordered Ben Clark, scout and interpreter at the post, to bring his horse, White Stockings, as he wished to go to the Indian Agency. He also told Ben to get his own horse and accompany him, which he did. With a field-glass belonging to Major Randall I saw all that happened at the Agency, and was told by Ben Clark upon his return that, when they reached the Agency, Major Randall ordered him to mount a box, which he did, and to tell the Indians that he then had on march from the end of the railroad at Caldwell, Kan., more soldiers than there were blades of grass on the hills and that if the Indians should make a fight they would be wiped off of the earth. I could see the Major with his cigar in his mouth standing up before those Indians seemingly as unconcerned as if he were in his own quarters, while surrounding him and Ben Clark were from 1500 to 2000 Indians with their guns leveled on them. The least thing would have started the Indians to massacre these men, and possibly all the white men at the post, but the coolness and determination of the Major and Ben Clark averted a fight. Captain Clapp, of the Sixteenth Infantry, who was left in charge at Fort Reno, had ordered what Gatling guns and Rodmans they had in camp to be taken down on the river bank to cover the retreat of Major Randall and Ben Clark in case they had to make a run for the post. It was a very exciting time.

I could continue to cite instances of my experiences with these Indians, but my paper has become lengthy and I do not want to consume more time than has been allotted to me. I hope at the next meeting to be able to give you a better description of my experiences with these people.

THE STORY OF CANTONMENT

The immediate cause of the establishment of the military post known as ''the Cantonment on the North Fork of the Canadian" was the hostile outbreak of a band of Northern Cheyenne Indians, which, under the leadership of Dull Knife

Yours very sincerely
Richd. I. Dodge

and Wild Hog, raided northward across Kansas and Nebraska during the late summer of 1878, leaving a trail of death and destruction behind them. The Cheyenne tribe had divided, about 1835, the major portion moving from the region north of the Platte River southward to the valley of the upper Arkansas, in Colorado and western Kansas, while the remainder of the tribe stayed in the north, ranging the region west of the Black Hills and between the Platte and the Yellowstone. Although thenceforth living and operating as separate tribes, the two divisions always maintained friendly relations and not infrequently were allied in their wars against the white people. During the Sioux wars, from 1865 to 1877, the Northern Cheyennes were allied with the Sioux.

At the close of that conflict, in 1877, the policy of transporting the Northern Cheyennes to the Indian Territory for the purpose of reuniting them with their kinsmen of the Southern Cheyenne division was inaugurated. During the years 1877 and 1878, most of the people of the Northern Cheyenne division were brought to Darlington and placed under the charge of the tribal agent, Col. John D. Miles. The Northern Cheyennes were a high-spirited people who had refused to move even as far south as the Arkansas with their kinsmen of the southern division of the tribe, more than forty years before, and they bitterly resented this governmental attempt to force a reunion of the two divisions thus long separated. They remained not only dissatisfied but sullen, utterly refusing to associate with the Southern Cheyennes. Finally, a band of irreconcilables, led by the chiefs before mentioned, evaded the vigilance of the Agency officials and of the troops at Fort Reno and started for their old ranges in Dakota, Montana and Wyoming—nearly a thousand miles distant. Encumbered by their families and their movable belongings and with the garrisons of more than half a dozen military posts engaged in chasing them or in trying to arrest their progress, they dodged and doubled and fought their way to northwestern Nebraska before they were finally brought to bay and recaptured. Although the survivors were returned to the reservation in the Indian Territory, this experiment of the military authorities and the Indian Service was ultimately conceded to be a failure and all of the Northern Cheyennes were permitted to return to North, two or three years after the establishment of the Cantonment post.

Kansas suffered greatly as the result of the Dull Knife raid, many people being killed and much property being destroyed in the settlements in the western part of that state. A company of state troops was kept stationed on the southwestern border on patrol duty. Political influence was also brought to bear at Washington, one of the results of which was the establishment of a new military post or station, on the North Canadian River, about midway between Fort Reno and Fort Supply. The new post was established March 6, 1879, when six companies of the 23d U. S. Infantry, under the command of Lieut. Col. Richard I. Dodge, went into camp on its site. In his next annual report, the secretary of War made the following statement:[5]

> "During the last winter, it became necessary, for the protection of the Kansas frontier, to establish a cantonment in the Indian Territory on the North Fork of the Canadian, between Fort Supply and Fort Reno. It is now occupied by six companies of infantry (one mounted) and has served and will serve as an almost complete check to any movements of the Indians of that region toward the north. The troops have hutted themselves and will get along without suffering this winter, but, as this cantonment will be needed and more needed every year, as well for the protection of the Indian Territory against white invasion as for the security of the Kansas frontier against the Indians,[6] I ask that an appropriation of $50,000 be requested this winter to build a permanent post. Whatever may be the condition of the Indian tribes in the future, it is quite certain that this post will be needed to maintain them in possession of their lands and to protect them against broils and difficulties with the whites, both respectable persons and outlaws."

When the soldiers first arrived, they lived in tents. Barracks were built of what was known as the "picket-house" type, that is, trenches were excavated and pickets or large posts were set vertically therein, as closely as possible, the sides of the trench being filled in and tamped. The interstices were filled by plastering with mortar made of a mixture of clay and grass, cleated in. The roofs did not have any ridge. The rafters were laid directly on the upper end of the pickets, with no slope whatever. These were covered with brush which, in turn, was covered with a layer of course grass. Over this a heavy layer of earth was laid. The inside walls were covered with canvas and the canvas was whitewashed. Later on, a sawmill and engine and a shingle machine were brought to a Cantonment from Leavenworth, Kansas, and the barracks were improved by adding shingle roofs, without removing the earth. roofs.

Some of the old barracks were still standing as late as twenty years ago. The last of them are said to have been torn down about 1906, when the pickets were used in building the present hogpens of the Cantonment School and for fence posts. The old Indian trader's store, which was originally the post trader's store while there was a garrison at Cantonment, was also a picket house. It was still occupied as a store, postoffice and residence until its destruction by fire, in July, 1917.

The records in the office of the adjutant general, at the headquarters of the Army, do not give evidence that there was a permanent post at Cantonment, but the fact there are three permaent buildings of stone masonry construction still standing seems to abundantly attest the presumption that the recommendations for an appropriation for such purposes was granted. The three buildings erected were a hospital, a commissary and a building which was used for officers' quarters. The erection of such permanent buildings for a post that was not even officially named was almost if not quite without precedent. These buildings are still standing, unimpaired and in use at the present time. The Agency office occupies the building which was used as officers' quarters. The old post bakery and commissary is now used by the blacksmith. The building near the river bank was the post hospital. The windows, doors and casings of all of these buildings, together with the finishing lumber, were hauled from one of the railway stations in Kansas—either Wellington or Wichita—as also were the bricks for the chimneys and the fire-brick for the bakery ovens.

The last return of the post at Cantonment on file in the archives of the War Department is the one for the month of June, 1882. The last company of the 23d Infantry (Company G) left the post January 3, 1881. Detachments of the 24th Infantry, of the 4th Cavalry and of the 9th Cavalry were stationed there until the abandonment of the post. The successive commanding officers were Lieut. Col. Richard I. Dodge,[7] 23d Infantry, up to December, 1880; Capt. Charles

C. Hood, 24th Infantry, to March, 1881; Maj. R. F. O'Bierne, 24th Infantry, to November, 1881, and Capt. Charles C. Hood again until the final abandonment by Companies B and F of the 24th Infantry, June 14, 1882.

On the map of the Indian Territory, in Colton's Atlas, edition of 1882, this post was designated as "New Cantonment," near the south bank of the North Fork of the Canadian River and about five or six miles south of Barrel Spring. With regard to its location in the present day geography of Oklahoma, it may be stated that it is in the northwestern part of Blaine County and about four miles west and a mile north of the town of Canton, which is a station on the Orient Railway. It is understood that name of the town is a derivitive from and a contraction of the name of the military station.

When the post was abandoned, the buildings were turned over to the Interior Department. A year or two afterward, they were occupied by a mission and school which was organized and maintained for many years by the Mennonite Church, for the benefit of the Indians of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, of which several bands lived in the vicinity. Many of the Indians of middle life who hold allotments and live in that vicinity, received their first schooling and learned to speak English at the mission at Cantonment. Rev. Rudolph Petter, who compiled a dictionary of the Cheyenne language (which, as yet, exists only in manuscript form) was stationed at this mission for many years. Eventually, the Mission erected a new building a quarter of a mile west of the present school building. After this building was burned, another was erected. This last building was subsequently torn down, the material being used in the erection of other mission buildings at Fonda and south of Canton.

When the lands of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Reservation were alloted and the surplus lands were thrown open to settlement under the homestead laws, five sections of land around Cantonment were reserved for Government use, mainly, it seems, for receiving cattle from beef contractors and pasturing the same until issued to the Indians. About 1897, the present Cantonment School was projected and organized by the Department of the Interior. The school building was completed and the school was opened in 1898.

When the Agency of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes, so long maintained at Darlington, was subdivided into three agencies, in 1903, Cantonment was selected as one of these for the convenience of Indians living in northern Blaine, Dewey and Roger Mills Counties.

On May 4, 1884, a Cheyenne Indian named White Buffalo was killed by a white man who was engaged in driving a herd of horses northward from Texas. Other Indians threatened revenge. The owner of the horses and two of his men took refuge in an oven of the post bakery until a troop of cavalry came up from Fort Reno and rescued them. At that time, there was a Government telegraph line from Fort Reno to Fort Supply, with a station at Cantonment, so that the appeal for help from the troops at Fort Reno was sent by wire. The poles of this telegraph line were sections of iron pipe. When the line was abandoned, the poles were pulled down and carried off, many of them, badly rusted at the surface, being broken off. Up to a few years ago, settlers and lessees of Indian lands on the route of the old Fort Reno-Fort Supply military road, along which the telegraph line was strung, would occasionally run their plowshares against the broken stumps of iron poles and wonder how such obstacles came to be there.

When the Cantonment Agency was established, it had jurisdiction over 905 Indian allotments of 160 acres each, with an Indian population of approximately 800. This population was practically stationary until the "flu" epidemic in 1918, when it was materially reduced. At the present time the Indian population under this agency is about 725. The Cantonment school has an attendance of about 100 pupils, mostly Cheyenne and Arapaho, though with a number of children of the Ponca and Oto tribes also in attendance. The Cheyenne and Arapaho languages both being of Algonquian origin, have many words in common, while the Ponca and Oto languages are of Sioux or Dakotah origin, with no words in common with those of either of the other two languages, hence the necessity of resorting to English as a means of communication common to all tribes.[8]

—*Joseph B. Thoburn.*

EARLY DAYS IN PAYNE COUNTY

I know of no task that could be assigned to me that would be more pleasing than that of talking to this gathering of early day Oklahoma settlers upon my subject tonight, "Early Days in Payne County."

Payne County is one of the picturesque and interesting spots of early day Oklahoma history. My father Patrick H. Guthrey located in Payne County April 22, 1889, on a homestead about three miles south of the town of Stillwater, his homestead chancing to be almost the exact geographical center of the county as then laid out. At that time I was a law student at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, and I took up my residence in Payne County in June, 1890. Father was a follower of David L. Payne, and shortly after locating upon his homestead he gathered a few of his neighbors about him and they laid off a town site embracing forty acres of his homestead and named it Payne Center in honor of the famous old Oklahoma boomer. Upon this town site, on a small block of ground near the center of the forty, they erected a wooden, one story, octagon shape building with a sawdust floor which they designated as the City Hall and in which the Mayor, the Justice of the Peace and the City Clerk had their homemade desks. I arrived upon the scene a full fledged lawyer, but I am perfectly willing to admit that I looked much more like I needed advice than one able to give it and I found it much easier to acquire an appetite than a law practice. Being a printer by trade as well as a lawyer by profession and realizing that father's new town site venture needed a newspaper and that he and I both needed something as a means of livelihood we launched the publication of a weekly newspaper known as "The Oklahoma Hawk."

One of my interesting recollections of early day conditions in Payne county is the manner in which the county seat was selected and the county was named. The town of Stillwater was established in the early summer of 1889 by a bunch of real live pioneers of this great west. Outstanding among them in my memory is Amon W. Swope, John R. Clark and Robert A. Lowery. Lowery was a lawyer, Swope a merchant and Clark a real estate man. These men and many of their associates had come into Oklahoma from Winfield, Kansas, and I remember quite well that many of us commonly referred to them as the "Winfield bunch." When the campaign came on for the location of the county seat and the selection of a name for the county, they of course entered the town of Stillwater for the county seat and sought to call the county, Stillwater County. Father and his followers at Payne Center entered the name of Payne Center for the county seat and Payne as the name of the county. As I said in the opening of my remarks, father was a great admirer of old David L. Payne and he was a man that placed sentiment above dollars. I remember of him saying to me on more than one occasion that he would rather honor Payne by naming his home county for him than to own the homestead upon which the county seat of that county would be located, and he proved the truthfulness of that assertion when he took a leading part in calling a mass meeting of the Payne Center supporters for the purpose of appointing a committee of three to confer with a like committee to be appointed from the Stillwater supporters with no other idea in view than that of agreeing with the Stillwater men to give them the county seat if they would honor David L. Payne by naming the county for him. I had the honor of serving as a member of that compromise committee and my associates on the Payne Center Committee was a farmer by the name of Andrews and a blacksmith by the name of Wood. I regret that just at this time I am unable to call the initials of either of these men, although I knew and remember both men well. The Stillwater committee that met us in this conference was composed of Amon W. Swope, Robert A. Lowery and Frank J. Wikoff. Swope, Lowery, Wood and Andrews are all dead and Mr. Wikoff is at present a resident of Oklahoma City and connected with the Tradesmen's National Bank. I regret that he is not here tonight to join me in recalling some of these early incidents in Payne County history. The compromise was effected. The county was named Payne, Stillwater became the county seat, and by a special business arrangement that was reduced to writing I moved my paper, the Oklahoma Hawk, from Payne Center to Stillwater and shortly thereafter became one of the members of the Stillwater Commercial Club and an intimate and business associate with the men whose early day sacrifices are responsible for the building of that beautiful city.

Being a newspaper man I was naturally mixed in many of the public and private conferences for the welfare of the town and I recall very vividly of having been named as a member of the legislative committee to attend the session of the First Territorial Legislature in an effort to secure the location of the Territorial Penitentiary at Stillwater. We had three representatives in the legislature at that time. S. W. Clark, commonly known as Southwest Clark, and Ira N. Terrell were in the lower house, and George W. Gardenhire was our member in the Territorial Council which conforms to what we now know as the State Senate. Early in the scramble for the location of the territorial institutions we were offered for Stillwater the Agricultural and Mechanical College if we would support some other town for the penitentiary. But our committee representing the Commercial Club of Stillwater and our representatives in the Legislature stoutly refused this offer and we continued our battle for the penitentiary. Finally Gardenhire took exception to our judgment and decided that the Agricultural and Mechanical College was the greater prize of the two and over the protest of Clark and Terrill in the lower house, and in the face of opposition from the Commercial Club of his home town, located what is now this wonderful school at Stillwater, and I am rather proud to recall that in his effort to do this he had the support of two of the men I have named heretofore in this talk, Robert A. Lowery and Frank J. Wikoff, and it is to these three men, Gardenhire, Lowery and Wikoff that Stillwater is primarily indebted for being the home of this school.

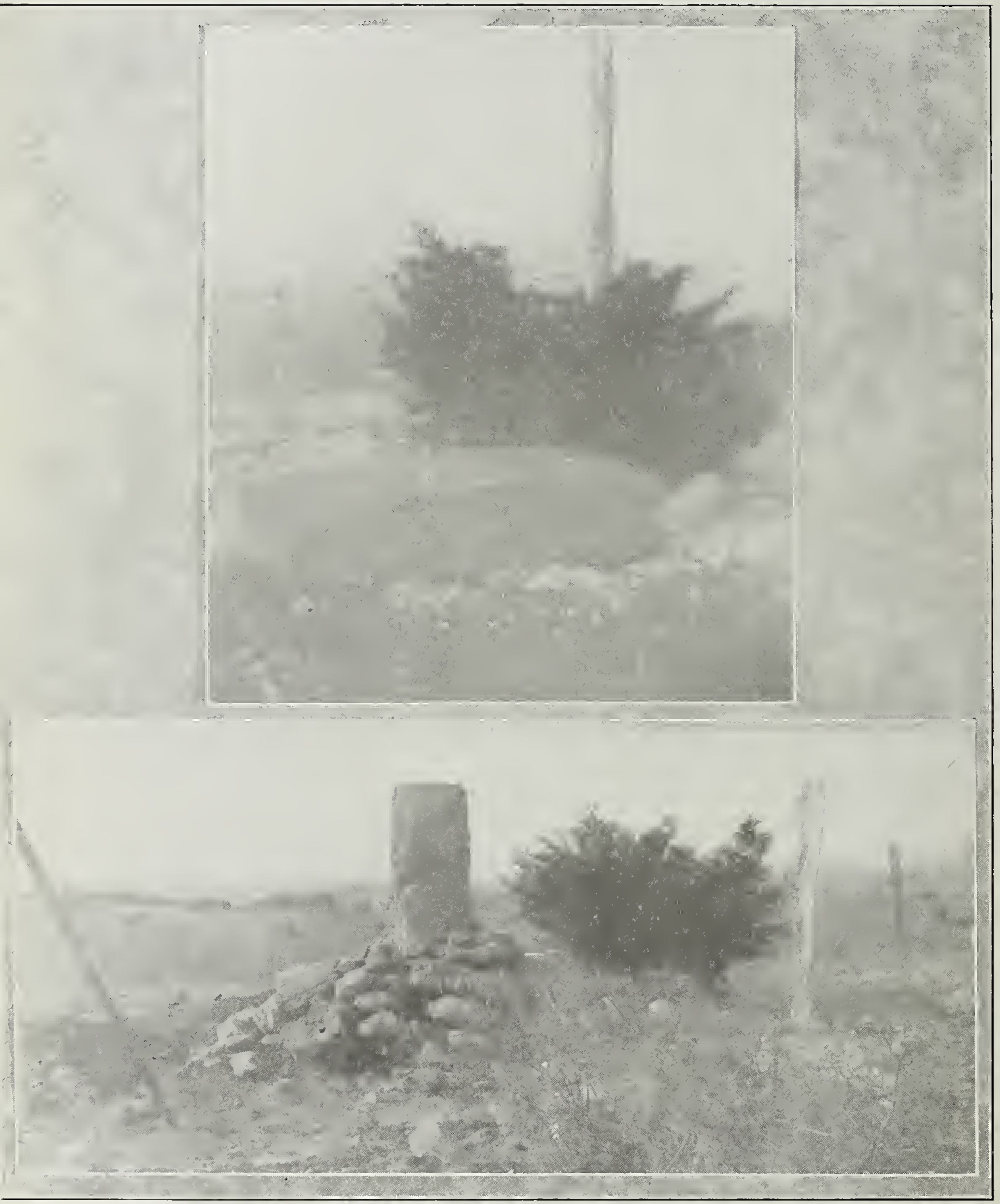
I often think of some of the ways we had of getting in and out of Stillwater. Our nearest railroad point was a station on the Sante Fe Railroad in the Cherokee Strip known as Wharton which is now Perry and there was a regular hack line run from Stillwater to Wharton daily. It was at a cow camp midway between Wharton and Stillwater that was used as the half way station and place to change horses by the stage driver that I first met and became acquainted with one of the later notorious early day characters of the territory, Bill Doolin. Bill Doolin at that time was a ranch foreman and a rather respected citizen. The first time I met Bill in his chosen profession as an outlaw was on November 8th of the year Cleveland was elected president the second time. I was coming to my home in Stillwater from Kansas City and the train was held up just as we pulled into the water tank at Wharton. Two men came through the passenger coach, one holding a sack for the passengers to drop their valuables into and one walking directly behind him with two ugly looking Colt revolvers to make sure that this command was obeyed. As I saw the pair coming down the aisle I searched my pockets and found I was the posessor of $3.75 in silver and I held it in my hand until it came my time to contribute to the sack. By this time I had recognized the man holding the guns as Doolin and I said to him, "Bill this is all I have and I want to hold out enough to pay hack fare across to Stillwater." In a very stern voice he said to me, "drop her in," and I did. As the man passed on with the sack and Bill got even with me in the aisle he turned his head toward me long enough to say, "what's the fare on that damn hack?" I told him One Dollar and Twenty-five Cents and he ran his hand in his pocket and handed me that amount. In other words it was a personal contribution from Bill and he wasn't holding out anything on his pal. Some years after that I met Bill again. I was on my way horseback from Stillwater to what was then the Pawnee agency, and the trip was being made about five or six days after the robbery of the bank at Clarksville, Arkansas, in which robbery several thousand dollars in silver was taken. As I rode along the trail about three miles east of what was then known as the town of Ingalls, I met Bill and three of his pals with their Winchesters strapped upon their saddles and each one of them had a pair of shot sacks filled with something swinging from the pommel of his saddle. They stopped me to inquire whether there were any deputy marshals at Ingalls as I came through. I told them that I hadn't noticed any and they started to ride on when I said to Bill, "What have you boys in those shot sacks?" Bill used several adjectives in informing me that it was none of my business and I very promptly agreed with him that it wasn't. Just as I started to ride on he turned in his saddle, looked back over his shoulder at me and said, "Say, Bee, are you still running that one-horse newspaper over at Stillwater?" I told him "yes" and he asked what the subscription price was. I told him $1.00 per year and he reached down into one of the shot sacks, picked out a hand full of its contents and threw it over hand towards me. It fell at the feet of my horse and he sat and watched me as I got down and picked it up. After I got through gathering it up from the dust of the road I found I was the possessor of eleven silver dollars, and I told Bill that would pay him for eleven years and asked him where I should send the paper. He laughed and said he hadn't thought of that, but finally told me to send it to Ingalls until I heard that he was dead and then to send it to hell. When I sold out my newspaper at Stillwater some years thereafter I called my successor's attention to that particular subscription but just whether or not he changed the address when Bill cashed in, I am unable to say.

In those early days we had some interesting political fights and I remember quite well one of our county campaigns in which Johnson Wiles was elected county judge and a man by the name of Vaughn was elected sheriff. They were both Republicans and I was conducting the Democratic newspaper. During the campaign I had said a great many uncomplimentary things about both Wiles and Vaughn. Early upon their induction to office they decided to settle some of their political scores with the editor by having me arrested for criminal libel. Vaughn, the sheriff and plaintiff in the action, served the warrant. Wiles, the county judge, and also an aggrieved party, was the examining magistrate before whom I was tried, and without much ceremony I was placed under $1000.00 bond which in those days of no real estate titles was an appalling sum for a bondsman to qualify for. It was the intention of my prosecutors to compel the editorial work of the newspaper to be conducted from the county jail. Fortunately, however, I had been in the county long enough to secure the friendship of a stalwart old democrat and ranchman known and loved by all early day Payne county citizens as Bill Berry. Financially, Bill was the real "poobah" of that section of the territory and when he signed a bond the defendant was promptly released. Shortly after signing the bond Bill got on his mule and started home. After he had gotten far enough from town that the boys felt safe to proceed again a second charge was made against the defendant and a second bond of $1000.00 required. We promptly rustled a buggy and team and hurried down the road after Bill and brought him back some nine miles, on the mule, to sign another bond. By this time Bill had made up his mind to two things; first that the newspaper was not to be edited from the county jail; and second, that he was going back to the ranch to look after the livestock, so he went down to the bank and made arrangements with Cliff Rock to sign whatever additional bond might be necessary between that time and morning to maintain my liberty and with this arrangement known to both the sheriff and county judge arrests temporarily ceased.

Some of you old settlers I know will remember Johnson Wiles. He had a bald head and his whiskers were so long that they hung some five or six inches below his waist band. It was not an uncommon thing to see him on the street with them either done up on hair pins on his chin or put inside his vest. In the next issue of my newspaper, following these arrests, I remembered Johnson's judicial position, his bald head, and his flowing beard, in the following little rhyme. "I know an old man with power judicial, who hasn't the sense to make an official. When God built his head He made it so thin, that his brains turned to hair and came out on his chin." The publication of the paper with these lines at the head of the editorial column was the cause for renewed hostilities, but I am quite sure that you will excuse me for not going further into these personal reminiscences.

I love Payne County because in my mind it has a very remarkable citizenship. It is one of the few counties in the state that is today practically controlled by the same men who settled there in the early days. The old settlers have stuck, and in a very large majority of instances they have made good; and even where the fathers have passed on, the sons and daughters have stepped in to "carry on" their program. They are a class of people who never become very much excited over anything, and while they have not builded in my judgment commensurate with their wonderful advantages and opportunities, they have developed a community in which any citizen of this great state could feel proud to live and which many of us feel a real pride in having had even an humble part in laying the early foundation. It is a real pleasure to me every time that I have an opportunity to return there to meet these splendid old citizens and talk over with them bits of early day history. Now my friends, this has been purely an off hand talk, not because I had no notice that I was to be upon the program, because I had that notice in ample time, but because of the fact that I have been so crowded for time that I have not even taken the opportunity of jotting down a few notes to talk from. Whether I have entertained you or not is for you to say, but that you have honored me by your invitation to come here and by the splendid attention you have given me, I am very frank to confess, I thank you.

—*E. Bee Guthrey.*



Initial Point Monument

Above, as it was found displaced

Below, as restored to proper position

RESTORATION OF THE MONUMENT AT THE INITIAL POINT OF THE PUBLIC LAND SURVEYS OF OKLAHOMA

The first land survey in Oklahoma was that of the southern boundary of the Cherokee Outlet. The contract for the survey of the boundaries of the Cherokee Outlet was undertaken by Rev. Isaac McCoy, the noted Baptist missionary who devoted a large part of his active life to labor among the Indian tribes, mostly living east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. He was one of the projectors of the proposed Indian Territory in the western wilderness and was largely instrumental in persuading a number of the tribes to move to new reservations west of the Mississippi and in helping them to select suitable tracts of land for such occupancy. The work of surveying the boundaries of the Cherokee Outlet was performed by his son, John C. McCoy, in 1837.[1]

In 1851 and 1852, the boundary between the Cherokee Outlet and the Creek Nation was resurveyed by Capt. Lorenzo Sitgraves and Lieut. Israel C. Woodruff, both of the Corps of Topographical Engineers.[2] In 1857, Jones & Brown were employed to survey several lines in the Indian Territory, including the Ninety-eighth Meridian from Red River to the Canadian River, the One Hundredth Meridian from Red River to the Cherokee Outlet-Creek Nation boundary, another resurvey of the last mentioned line and the boundary line between the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations.[3] The Kansas-Oklahoma boundary line was surveyed by a party under escort of troops commanded by Lieut. Col. Joseph E. Johnston, of the 1st Cavalry, in 1857.[4] The Oklahoma-Texas boundary line (One Hundredth Meridian) from Red River northward to 36° 30′; and thence westward to the One Hundred and Third Meridian, was surveyed by Daniel Major, in 1859.[5]

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[1] Senate Document No. 120, 25th Congress, 2d Session, pp. 950-82.

[2] House Executive Document No. 104, 35th Congress, 1st Session. Captain Sitgraves surveyed seventy-nine miles in 1850; Lieutenant Woodruff surveyed 120 miles in 1851. This survey did not extend west of the Ninety-ninth Meridian.

[3] Letter from Commissioner of the General Land Office, Feb. 26, 1925, on file in the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[4] Senate Executive Document No. 78, Vol. XI, p. 86.

[5] House Miscellaneous Document No. XL, Part II, Plate 119.

In 1870, preparations were made for the subdivision of the lands of the Indian Territory, then recently relinquished or ceded to the United States under the treaties of 1866, into townships and sections. An initial point, marking the intersection of the Base Line and the Indian Meridian, from which ranges should be numbered north and south and townships numbered east and west, respectively, was selected near Fort Arbuckle, on the boundary line between Garvin and Murray counties, six miles west of the Washita River, in 1870, The work of subdivision into townships and sections was begun shortly thereafter, that same year. The lands of the Chickasaw Nation were surveyed, though no subdivisional surveys were contracted for in the reservations of any of the rest of the five civilized tribes. As appropriations became available, other contracts were made until all of the lands east of the One Hundredth Meridian in the western half of the present state of Oklahoma were surveyed and the plats for the same were approved between the years 1871 and 1875, inclusive.

No provision was ever made by law for the appointment of a surveyor general for the Indian Territory, as there was for the supervision of the public land surveys of all other western states and territories. The subdivisional surveys were therefore made by contract deputy surveyors whose work was executed directly under the supervision of the commissioner of the General Land Office. The plats and field notes were approved by the commissioner and, when the lands were opened to homestead entry in accordance with the several acts of Congress providing for the disposal of the public lands, the triplicate plats were filed in the district land offices in the respective jurisdictions of which the lands were placed. It is understood that, in some instances at least, copies of the field notes were also filed with district land offices.

The lands of the No-Man's-Land area were not surveyed and subdivided into townships and sections until 1891, the plats for the same being approved in 1892 and 1894. Authority for the survey and subdivision of the lands of the Indian Territory (i. e., the reservations of the five civilized tribes and the lands of the tribes under the Quapaw Agency) was provided for under the terms of an act of Congress approved March 2, 1895.[6] The work in this instance was done under the supervision of the director of the Geological Survey and all field-work was performed by the topographical division of that bureau. This work was done much more accurately as well as in much greater detail than any previous subdivisional land surveys previously made, maps and plats including contour lines and other physiographic features.

Under the regulations adopted for this survey, provisions were made for but two sets of field notes and plats—one of which was filed with the office of the commissioner of Indian Affairs and the other was retained on file in the General Land office. As a consequence, there are no extra copies of the records of such surveys on file in any of the state or county offices or in the Government land office at Guthrie, where copies of the records of the Government land surveys of that part of the state which was embraced within the Territory of Oklahoma may be found. However, copies of such plats and field notes may be obtained on payment of the legal fees therefor, namely, fifteen cents per page for field notes and fifty cents each for photolithographic copies of plats, with twenty-five cents extra for seal and certification if desired.

Attention was recently called to the fact that the monument marking the initial point, or intersection of the Indian Meridian and the Indian Base Line, had been displayed and cast aside, presumably as the result of the mischieviously destructive activities of some unduly curious searcher after a mythical "buried Spanish treasure." The matter having been called to the attention of Mr. C. M. Lawrence, civil engineer and surveyor, of Holdenville, Oklahoma, (who is an active member of the Oklahoma Historical Society), he addressed a letter to the director of the Geological Survey, at Washington, offering to restore the monument to its original position. Inasmuch as the original surveys had been made under the direction of the commissioner of the General Land Office, Mr. Lawrence's letter was referred to that official. Under date of December 12, 1924, the following letter was addressed to Mr. Lawrence, from the office of the commissioner:

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[6] U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. XXVIII, p. 876.

Mr. C. M. Lawrence,
Civil Engineer and Surveyor,
Holdenville, Oklahoma.

My dear Sir:

By reference from the Geological Survey, this office is in receipt of your letter of November 26, 1924, wherein you report, on information supplied by Mr. Justice Warren, of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, that the monument marking the initial point of the Indian base and meridian, Oklahoma, is overturned and loose and wherein you suggest that it may be possible for you to take steps looking to its restoration in connection with a proposed visit to that locality.

The General Land Office appreciates your interest in this matter, and although not specifically charged with the maintenance of the monuments of the public land surveys, it is always glad to co-operate with those interested in their perpetuation, and in order that the monument may be properly identified I am appending its description as taken from the field notes of the original offcial survey of the Indian meridian as executed by Deputy Surveyor E. N. Darling, in or about the year 1870.

> "Initial monument at point between two small streams, both having a northerly course making a junction about 20 chains north.
>
> "Set Sand Stone 54x18x18
> marked on west side I. P. on east side Ind. Mer., and on north side 1870, in a mound of stones, 6 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, from which Flag Staff at Fort Arbuckle bears N. 7° 37' W.
>
> "East end of Mesa bears N. 46° 17' W.
> "East end of Mesa bears N. 47° 42' W.
> "East end of Mesa bears N. 55° 56' W.
> "Black Oak 10 in. dia. bears N. 70°
> 11' W. 617 lks. dist. Rock on East side of
> Brook marked thus (III) bears S. 14° 12' E.
> 1365 lks. dist. Cedar 8 inches dia. just left of rock."

In addition to he foregoing, it should be noted that in connection with surveys executed under the direction of the Geological Survey this initial point was identified in the year 1897, the monument being described as a Sandstone 54x19x18 inches above ground, firmly set in a mound of stone 6 feet base, 2½ feet high, marked and witnessed as described by the General Land Office.

It will of course be understood that any action looking to the perpetuation of the point in question should be taken without disturbance, removal or alteration of the existing monument, and this office will be glad to receive a report of such action as you may find it practicable to take in this connection.

Very respectfully,
(Signed) D. K. Parrott,
Acting Assistant Commissioner.

To this letter, Mr. Lawrence replied, under date of Feb. 15, 1925, as follows:

Hon. Comm'r Gen'l Land Offce,
Washington, D. C.
Sir:

Re Initial Point, I. M. Okla.—Your 1161542"E"CGT— 12-24-'24. I have honor to report that on Jan. 7, 1925, I checked hearings of existing accessories, as described in Field Notes:

Lapse of fifty-four years has eliminated "flagstaff at Fort Arbuckle" and the "black oak tree." The "rock on east side of brook marked thus (III), S. 14°-12' E. 1365 lks. dist." is a peculiar (Frank's) conglomerate, much subject to weathering, so that no marks can now be distinguished, and the—about 5 ton—piece, due to undercutting and frost wedging, has sloughed down toward the stream bed. The "Cedar," "diam. just left of rock," is now about 14" diam, bearing S. 14°-27'E., and being otherwise worthless, is now the most valuable reference object.

Bul. 564, p. 36, states "copper bolt set in rock in place, four feet south of Initial Point." A hole in rock shows plainly where bolt has been pried out, thus further verifying exact locus of the monument.

Found monument lying as shown by Photo No.1. Erected it, with portland cement mortar, about 6 ft. diam, and 3 ft. high: As shown by "1870" on, "Ind. Mer." on east and "I. P." on west sides, in a bed of photo No. 2.

Present and assisting were Messrs. C. H. Lamb, Pierce Larkin and C. D. Richardson.

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) C. M. Lawrence.

JAMES DWIGHT LANKFORD

James Dwight Lankford, son of Nathan Alexander Lankford, and his wife, Harriet Earle Whitten, daughter of John Earle, and his wife, Rebecca Wood, was born in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, on the second day of October, 1861, and died at San Diego, California, November 6, 1923. His father, Nation Alexander Lankford, was the son of John Lankford and his wife, Myra Carruth, daughter of Alexander Carruth and his wife Sarah Logan. His paternal grandfather, John Lankford, was the son of Nathan Lankford and his wife, Marian Caldwell. The Logans and Carruths were Scotch and Scotch-Irish and the Earles and Lankfords, English. Through the Carruths the Lankfords are related to the Pinkneys of South Carolina. His Lankford, Earle and Carruth ancestors were soldiers in the Revolutionary War. His great-grandfather, John Earle, was a member of the Committee of Safety of Tyron County, North Carolina, and on October 25, 1775, signed the Declaration of Allegiance to both the Provincial and the Continental Congress, and was a captain in the Colonial militia that constructed what was known as Earle's Fort.

John and Mary Earle, the ancestors of John Earle, his maternal grandfather, immigrated from the western part of England in 1649, settling in Westmoreland County, Virginia, in 1652. In 1846 Nathan Alexander Lankford removed from Rutherford, North Carolina, to Pontotoc County, Mississippi. With his eldest son, W. H. Lankford, he enlisted from that county in the Confederate Army, the former serving during the war and the latter, being only sixteen years old at the time of his enlistment, serving during the last year of the war.

The subject of this sketch, being born during the first year of the Civil War, had little opportunity to acquire an education compared to that afforded the elder children. As a result of the devastation of the war and the reconstruction government, which existed in Mississippi for more than a decade after its termination, every industry was prostrated

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*Read by Hon. Robert L. Williams at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, February 3d, 1925, in accepting the portrait of Mr. Lankford for the Society.

and practically all *property,* including live stock, except land, was gone.

In 1880, when nineteen years of age, leaving Mississippi he went to Milam County, Texas, where he attended the common schools for a short time. In 1881 he clerked in a store in Cameron, Texas. In 1882, going to Lehigh, Indian Territory, he took employment in the general store of J. J. Phillips, later becoming manager. In 1883, resigning that position, he removed to Atoka where he and an eldor brother, Dr. J. S. Lankford, now of San Antonio, Texas, engaged in the drug business. His drug business expanding rapidly soon became the largest one in that part of the Territory. Embarking in additional lines as the Territory developed he engaged with the late S. B. Scratch, of Atoka, in the lumber, coal and ice business, and later in the banking business, becoming president of the Atoka National Bank, in January, 1902, and continuing in that capacity until February 1911.

On March 7, 1886, he was married to Miss Emmerretta Sullivan, who, with a son and daughter survive him. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church serving in the capacity of both deacon and elder, and also a 32d degree Mason and a Knight Templar.

On the incorporation of the Town of Atoka, he was elected its first mayor, his first term as such beginning in 1903 and continuing until 1904. He declining to become a candidate for re-election. He neither desired nor sought public office, but, being a citizen of such sterling qualities as to command support beyond the ranks of his own party, in 1907 he was besought by his party to again accept the nomination for mayor, and, being elected, served for another term, promoting the growth and standing of his party in the new country and rendering his municipality an honest and efficient administration of government. He loved his party, municipality, county, state, and nation and the memories and traditions of the South. His was a life of service and ideals, though unostentatious and retiring.

On the organization of the Democratic Party in the Indian Territory in 1892 he became a member of the Central Committee, continuing in that position until the erection of the state government, after which he continued in the same capacity until 1914, rendering wise counsel and efficient and faithful service in the promotion of its principles and its organization.

In 1911, without seeking the place, he was appointed by Governor Cruce as State Bank Commissioner for a term of four years and, in 1915, was re-appointed, without being an applicant therefor, for another four years when I succeeded as governor. In January, 1919, two or three days before my term as governor expired, at his importunity, I accepted his resignation and designated his first assistant as acting bank commissioner. He stated that his health neither permitted nor did he desire to continue in the office after the termination of my term as governor.

When he came to the office of bank commissioner the guaranty fund was heavily burdened, owing approximately a million dollars. During his service of nearly eight years the state banking system was rehabilitated, not only in public confidence but also in finances. When he left office practically all of its indebtedness had been liquidated, a slight balance in warrants being outstanding but with more than enough cash in the treasury available to take same up when presented.

In July 1920, on account of the condition of his health, he removed to San Diego, California, where he resided until his death, but never becoming a citizen of that state, retaining his citizenship in Oklahoma. In September, 1922, whilst revisiting Oklahoma for a short period he stated that he intended to retain his citizenship in Oklahoma as long as he lived, on account of the ties of friendship which he had formed during his long residence here, his chief regret in having to live in California on account of his health being occasioned by his separation from his friends.

No finer character or better citizen ever lived. He belonged to the school of men who put principle above every other consideration. His every action with his fellow man was controlled by the highest ideal of right. In his relationship with them he was considerate, kind, charitable, but firm. In every relation of life whether official or private he was just. Knowing the frailties of the human race he wisely and justly made allowances therefor. Whilst successfully handling business transactions, large and small, he never forgot the poor and unfortunate whether white, black or red. Each day and every hour he lived the practical, righteous life, regardless of sinister influences and temptations that might cast their shadows over the human pathway. A noble son, faithful husband, indulgent father, dependable friend, examplary citizen and honest public servant is gone.

That he may live in the history of the state, not only in deeds and character, but also in physical likeness by means of art, his friends have caused this portrait to be painted and presented to the Historical Society of the State.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The thirty-second annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by the President, on February 3, 1925, at 1.30 o'clock p. m. with a large attendance of members. A quorum was declared present.

Secretary read the minutes of the annual meeting February 5, 1925, which were approved as read.

The regular order of business was suspended, and Judge R. M. Rainey presented to the Society a portrait of the Hon. J. D. Lankford who was state bank commissioner during Governor Wiliams' administration. Judge Robert L. Williams read a biographical sketch of Mr. Lankford, and accepted the portrait on behalf of the Society.

Secretary then read his report, which was accepted and ordered placed on file.

Treasurer's report were called for, but in the absence of Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, the treasurer, the reports for the fourth quarter and an annual were read by Miss Mulholland. The report was accepted.

Mrs. Conlan, field collector, read her report, which was accepted.

The following persons were nominated as directors to serve for a term of five years: Phil D. Brewer, W. A. Durant, Mrs. Daisy Riehl, Miss Margaret Mitchell, Mrs. John R. Williams, Dan W. Peery, Baxter Taylor, and William P. Thompson. A ballot resulted as follows: Brewer, 63; Peery, 63; Taylor, 50; Williams, 42; Durant, 35; Thompson, 33; Mitchell, 31; Riehl, 22 and Phillips, 15.

The following were declared elected to serve as directors for a term of five years: Phil D. Brewer, Dan W. Peery, Baxter Taylor, Mrs. John R. Williams, and W. A. Durant.

Report of committee on publications was given by Messrs. Nesbitt and Foreman and Mrs. Estill and the Secretary, verbally.

Library and Museum committee's report was read by Mrs. Frank Korn, secretary of the committee. The report was acepted and ordered to be placed on file.

Membership committee report was read by the secretary, and the following persons were proposed for membership:

Life, Frank L. Warren, Holdenville; Pierce Larkin and Charles Henry Lamb of Tulsa; Roy M. Johnson, Ardmore and Mrs. Janie Gwin Matson, Mrs. Alice Beitmen Heaney and George M. Green of Oklahoma City.

Annual Membership, H. R. Garrison, Rosston; Mrs. C. W. Brown, Pryor; Mrs. Lloyd Thomas, Holdenville; Miss S. Carrie Thompson, Meeker; Mrs. Carrie B. Rule, Hobart; J. J. Bollinger, Tyrone; Dr. R. B. Hayes, Guymon; C. E. Castle, Wagoner; Mrs. Cora C. McKeel, Ada; T. A. Kennedy and J. G. Sanders, Ponca City; F. W. Stout, Oswego, Kansas; N. B. Maxey, Muskogee, and Mrs. Flora G. Chambers, Ludwig Schmidt, Mrs. Mary E. Carpenter, Robert K. Everest, Isabel Eastland, Harry L. Haun, Katherine E. Bremicker, Mrs. E. B. Ringland, Paul A. Robertson, Mary E. Thoburn, Mrs. Malcolm Cox, Mrs. J. E. Jones, Mrs. Joseph Wm. Miller, Mrs. Sue L. Lower and Mrs. Ada Reynolds of Oklahoma City.

The persons named were elected to full membership.

Mr. J. W. Kayser gave a verbal report of the building committee.

Mr. Nesbitt moved that a resolution be prepared by Judge Foreman placing the Historical Society on record for the building of a memorial building for the World War Veterans, other patriotic societies and the Oklahoma Historical Society from the proceeds of the sale of the State Hospital at Muskogee. Motion carried.

A verbal report of the commitee on marking historic spots was given by Mr. Foreman, mentioning especially the proposed Governor Stokes monument. On motion, this committee was continued with instructions to cooperate with the committees of the S. A. R., the D. A. R., the State Education Association and other organizations in the effort to raise a fund for the proper marking of historic places and spots in Oklahoma. Col. R. A. Sneed moved to amend by adding the names of Roy Johnson and William P. Thompson to this committee. The motion as amended was carried.

Communications were read by the Secretary from Lincoln McKinlay, Wichita, Kansas and Col. W. H. Hornaday, State Soldiers' Home, California—both former directors of the Society.

Judge Williams moved that a committee of three be appointed to wait on the Governor and the joint appropriation comittee of the two houses of the Legislature and notify them that the Society was ready to meet with them. William P. Thompson, Mrs. J. E. Jones and C. W. Briles were appointed.

On motion, it was voted to instruct the Board of Directors to spend a reasonable amount for the purchase of the portraits of the principal chiefs or governors of the Five Civilized tribes or get negatives in such form that prints could be made.

Judge Williams moved that the Society in its annual minutes reiterate the expressions, contained in the resolutions of the board published in the Chronicles, of our appreciation of the great work done by Mr. Campell and express sympathy to each member of the family. Motion carried.

Judge Williams moved that a page in the minutes be surrounded by a black border. Carried as an amendment to the above motion.

After the transaction of several items of business of a minor and miscellaneous nature, a recess was then taken, the meeting reassembling in the Governor's reception room where the meeting was called to order by Senator Bobo.

The matter of the proposed memorial building was discussed by Judge Robert L. Williams, Judge Thomas H. Doyle, Mrs. Frank Korn, Baxter Taylor, Grant Foreman, Governor Trapp, Dr. J. S. Buchanan, Dan W. Peery and Senator Bobo, after which it adjourned.

THE EVENING SESSION

For the first time in its history, there was an evening session of the annual meeting, with a formal program for the occasion. This was held in the roof garden of the Skirvin Hotel. The meeting was well attended. The program of papers and addresses was as follows:

"Early days in Payne County," by Hon. E. Bee Guthrey, of Tulsa, secretary of the State Highway Commission.

"Some Incidents Connected with School Life in the Choctaw Nation before the Civil War," by Miss Muriel H. Wright, of Olney.

"The Battle of the Washita," by Hon. Paul Nesbitt, vice-president of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

"Greetings from the Texas Panhandle," by Mrs. Olive K. Dixon, of Miami, Texas.

"When Lincoln County Was Wild and Wooly," by Major Harry B. Gilstrap, regional director of the Veteran's Bureau.

Mr. J. W. Lawton, veteran Custer County newspaperman and publisher of the Arapaho Bee, was introduced and spoke informally.

—*J. B. T.*

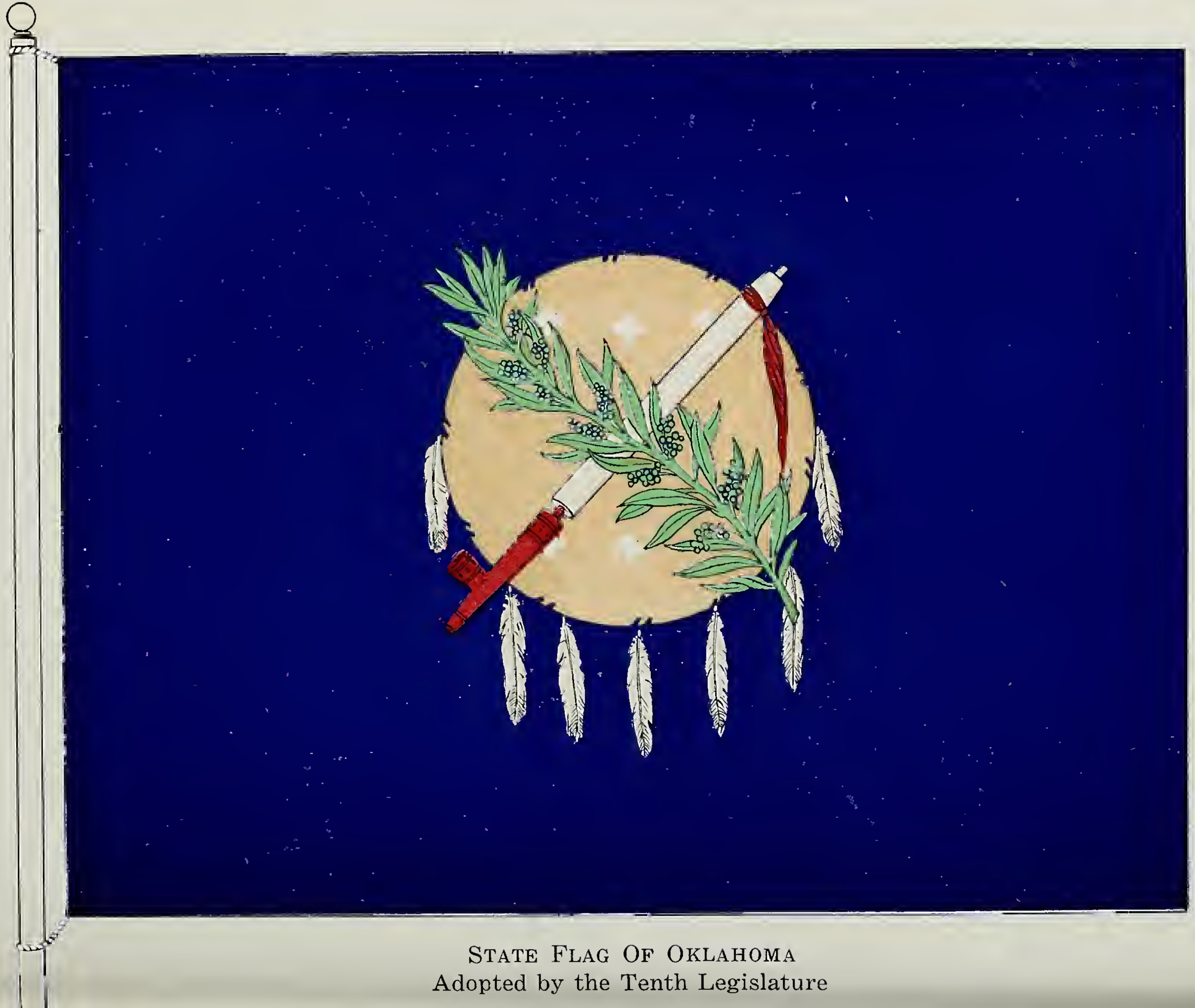
EDITORIAL

One of the handsomest and, from a historical point of view, one of the most timely state publications recently put out is a 250-page volume entitled "Maine Forts," issued by the state libriarian of Maine. The neatly printed and elegantly bound volume is filled with historical sketches and brief descriptions of the military posts of Maine, past and present, and is embellished by numerous photo-engravings, maps and charts. The story of the state of Maine is linked with the stories of its military posts and forts, several of which date from the period of the American Revolution. Oklahoma has a part to perform in this same line. The Oklahoma Historical Society is ready to do its full duty in this matter but it must have the co-operation of the state and its people in order to make the undertaking the success that it should be.

At at meeting held in the parlors of the Huckins Hotel, in Oklahoma City, on Thursday, Februry 12, a committee consisting of representatives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma Educational Association, the Oklahoma societies of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution and the Oklahoma Division of the United Confederate Veterans was organized by the election of Col. R. A. Sneed, of Oklahoma City, as chairman and Miss Muriel H. Wright, of Olney, as secretary, for the purpose of devising ways and means to raise funds for the purpose of placing suitable markers or monuments on various places of historic interest, such as sites of early missions, trading posts, government military stations, tribal schools, academies and seminaries, battlefields, graves of distinguished pioneers, noted camping grounds on some of the overland trails, etc. It is understood that several other societies are to be invited to join in the movement. Another meeting of the committee is to be held in the not distant future, when detailed plans the furtherance of the project will be formulated and adopted.

The list of patriotic societies in Oklahoma is being increased by the organization of a state society and local chapters of the National Society of the U. S. Daughters of 1812. A year ago, the national regent, Mrs. Samuel Preston Davis, of Little Rock, Arkansas, appointed Mrs. Frank Korn, of El Reno, as organizing state regent for Oklahoma. The state chapter as organized in Oklahoma City, June 17, 1924, and the next one was recently instituted at Tulsa, Feb. 26. Other chapters are in the process of organization at Ponca City, Blackwell and Lawton. Already the membership includes two venerable matrons whose fathers were actual participants in the second struggle between the United States and the mother country, which ended 110 years ago—Mrs. Elizabeth Arthur Edwards, of Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Cornelius Trump, of Blackwell. As many of the officers and enlisted men of the garrisons of the first military posts in Oklahoma, many Indians of the five civilized tribes and a number of white intermarried citizens of various tribes which settled or were located in this state were veterans of htat war, this new Society will find much work to do. The organizing state regent, (who, by the way, is a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society), will be glad to hear from other ladies of the state who are descended from ancestors who served in the army or navy of the United States during the War of 1812 and who would be interested in organizing local chapters at other points in the state.

It will be recalled that, last year, the semi-centennial of the battle of Adobe Walls was celebrated in Hutchinson County, Texas—in the Panhandle country—by the dedication of a monument or marker on the spot, in the presence of a gathering of 2,500 people, with appropriate and impressive ceremonies, and that in the wilderness, remote from any town. On the 12th of September, next, there will be a similar ceremony and dedication, on the site of the Buffalo Wallow fight, near Gageby Creek, in the eastern part of Hemphill County. Oklahoma has a number of historic spots which should be likewise marked.



STATE FLAG OF OKLAHOMA
Adopted by the Tenth Legislature

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Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume III June, 1925 Number 2

EARLY TRAILS THROUGH OKLAHOMA

Between Oklahoma City and Canadian River, ninety years ago last August, Colonel Henry Dodge and his company of two hundred fifty dragoons from Fort Gibson camped among the tens of thousands of buffaloes that thundered over the prairies, where Washington Irving had hunted these animals two years before. Here Dodge remained five days in the hope that some of the desperately sick men of his command would improve, while the able-bodied could kill and cure enough buffalo meat to last them to Fort Gibson. And it was while camped here that he received word of the death of General Henry Leavenworth on the Washita where he had been compelled to drop behind in a sick camp of more than one hundred men.[1] Under orders from the Secretary of War this tragic expedition left Fort Gibson in June, five hundred strong under the command of General Leavenworth to attempt an interview with the Comanche, Kiowa and Wichita Indians then living in what are now Comanche and Kiowa counties. Of that little command over one hundred and fifty lives were sacrificed to the fevers brought on by the awful heat, putrid water and other hardships of travel to which these unseasoned men were exposed.

Travel in those days in this country was an experience to challenge the stoutest hearts and constitutions. Roads were unknown—the Surveyor had not been here. Oklahoma was an uncharted sea. The stars and a few physical features were the only guides. The Cross Timbers was the meridian of Greenwich to the navigator of the plains.

If we consider the opulence in which we live and practice our profession as contrasted with conditions here a few generations ago; if we think of the comfort and luxury in which we came to this meeting as compared with the toil and hardship of travel of only a few years back the contrast is a sharp one. When we think that as we came here we slept in serene comfort while covering in a night's travel the same route that the hardy adventurer of a few years ago gave up ten days or two weeks of toil and peril to compass, we are reminded of the amazing changes that have taken place in our state in a short space of time.

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[1] American State Papers, "Military Affairs" vol. v, pp 373-382.

The rivers—the Arkansas, Cimarron, Canadian, Red, and Washita were first employed by the trader and trapper for navigation and for guide. Up these streams they came in their canoes and keel boats as far as water would carry them, and then continued overland. Their trails were designed first to take them to their destination in the most direct route, but there were other things to consider; they must find water for themselves and their horses and grass for the latter; the route must provide good camping places and game for food; hostile Indians must be avoided and for facility and comfort of travel they sought out the relatively level courses on the divides between water-sheds.

The first known trail of which any record is available within what is now Oklahoma, was a Spanish trail running from Natchitoches and Nacogdoches to Santa Fe. During the Spanish possession of the Louisiana Purchase it was employed by the priests, traders, and trappers of that nationality and took them through what are now Tillman, Beckham, and Greer counties. In the trial of the celebrated case of United States against Texas,[2] involving the question whether Greer County belonged to Texas or to the United States, the printed record of over fourteen hundred pages is a storehouse of historical material relating to the Southwest. One of the witnesses was Simon N. Cockrell, a brother of Senator Cockrell of Missouri. Mr. Cockrell was over ninety years old when he testified in 1894.[3] He stated that in 1833 he was in the employ of Colville, Coffee and French, of Fort Smith, and that he went with a company of their men on upper Red River to establish a trading post just above the mouth of Pease River, Texas, and below the junction of the two main branches of Red River within what is now Tillman County, Oklahoma. He remained there until 1836, killing game for food for the men at the post, and then he left to join Houston's army in Texas. He testified that going to the place where they were to establish this post, they followed a well defined trail that crossed Red River there and continued on to El Paso. But at the place they set up the trading post their trail was intersected by the old Spanish trail, running up Red River from Natchitoches to Santa Fe. This was an ancient trail deeply cut and rutted by heavy Mexican cart wheels. This old Spanish Trail was described by a number of witnesses in that case and this testimony was offered to show that Spain had exercised dominion over the country then called Greer County, Texas.

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[3] Ibid, Record, vol. ii, 1347.

[2] "United States v. Texas" 168 U. S. Supreme Court Reports 1.

With the establishment of Fort Gibson and Fort Towson, in 1824, military roads were built. In 1825 Congress authorized the marking of the Santa Fe Trail and at the same time provided[4] for laying out a military road from Fort Gibson to Little Rock. That part of the road from Fort Gibson to Fort Smith was built under the direction of Captain Pierce M. Butler, later governor of South Carolina. A road was built also from Fort Smith to Fort Towson and it was connected with Fort Coffee on Arkansas River. In a few years there came to Indian Territory the pioneer of that brave band of trail markers and explorers, the surveyor who first gave us our bearings through forest and over the prairies. He came in the person of the Reverend Isaac McCoy of whose valuable service here so little is known. In April, 1831, the Secretary of War commissioned Mr. McCoy[5] to survey the boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, meandering the Arkansas and Canadian rivers and running the line north from Fort Smith and west so as to include within those limits the 7,000,000 acres guaranteed to the Cherokees by the treaty of 1828. The Secretary appointed as an assistant to Mr. McCoy, John Donelson the nephew of the recently deceased Mrs. Jackson, wife of the President. Reverend McCoy met young Donelson at Fort Gibson in June and, with a force of about twenty men, the survey was made in the summer and fall. The next year Mr. McCoy was directed to survey the boundaries of the Seneca, Ottawa, and Shawnee Indian reservations. Between times, Mr. McCoy was zealous in his labors as a missionary and September

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[4] United States Statutes at Large, vol. iv, 135.

[5] U. S. Senate. Documents, 23d congress, first session, No. 512, vol. ii, 275.

9, 1833, ten miles north of where Muskogee was to be, he established Ebeneezer,[6] the first Baptist church in Indian Territory with a membership consisting of a minister, a Creek missionary and his wife, and three Creek slaves. That year Captain Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, surveyed the boundary line between the Creek and Cherokee nations.

In 1834, when General Leavenworth took command of the military forces in the southwest and organized the celebrated expedition to the wild prairie Indians, he directed the construction of a road for the movement of his five hundred dragoons. The road proceeded southwest from Fort Gibson and crossed Canadian River just below the mouth of Little River, southeast of where is now Holdenville. Here on the north side of the Canadian River a post was established that was named Camp Holmes after Lieutenant T. H. Holmes under whose direction it was built. From here the road proceeded southwest past where Allen now is, to a point on Washita River near where Fort Washita was afterward located. Here they were joined by some of the troops from Fort Towson. A large number of sick were left at Camp Holmes and at the Washita and half the command proceeded northwest on the divide between the Red and Washita rivers to about where Fort Sill now is, to see the Comanche; and then sixty miles farther west to the Kiowa and Wichita Indians.[7] When the government made the treaty at Doaksville January 17, 1837,[8] with the Choctaw and Chickasaw by which a tract of the Choctaw domain was set apart to the Chickasaw, General Leavenworth's road from Fort Gibson to the Washita was employed as part of the eastern boundary line of that grant. Years later, a dispute arose between the two tribes as to the exact location of this trail and another treaty was negotiated at Doaksville November 4, 1854,[9] in which other terms were substituted for the old trail as a boundary. The Chickasaw were apprehensive that the Leanvenworth trail boundary would throw their new Wapanucka Female Institute in the Choctaw Nation.

Approximately Leavenworth's route from Fort Gibson to Fort Washita was followed, in 1855, by the famous Second

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[6] McCoy, Isaac. History of Baptist Indian Missions (New York 1840), 451.

[7] U. S. Senate. Executive Documents, 23d congress, second session, No. 1, pp. 3-93.

[8] Kappler, Charles J. compiler and editor Indian Laws and Treaties, vol. ii, 361.

[9] Ibid, vol. ii, 487.

Cavalry, when it went to Texas to fight the Indians. This regiment was organized at Jefferson Barracks and numbered many famous men among its offcers. The colonel was Albert Sidney Johnston and next in command was Lieutenant-colonel Robert E. Lee; George H. Thomas and William J. Hardee were majors; Earl VanDorn and Edmund Kirby Smith were included among the captains and John B. Hood was a lieutenant; Fitzhugh Lee afterward joined. The regiment left Jefferson Barracks at Saint Louis, October 27, 1855, the whole ten companies being together and numbering over seven hundred fifty men and eight hundred horses. Traversing southwestern Missouri it passed through Springfield and Neosho, down the boundary line of Missouri to Maysville, and thence through Indian Territory to Tahlequah. From there it marched to Fort Gibson; crossing Grand and Arkansas rivers it must have passed over the site of the future Muskogee; on December 4, it crossed the North Fork of Canadian River and, the next day, forded the Canadian, probably near Old Fort Holmes, at the mouth of Little River. It reached Fort Washita on December 21, and, on the fourteenth, crossed Red River into Texas and proceeded on to Fort Belknap.[10]

At Camp Holmes a firm of traders, known as Edwards and Shelton, was licensed to trade with the Indians and, for years, the place was known as Edwards's Settlement. Edward's daughter was married to Jesse Chisholm, a half-breed Cherokee and a famous guide and scout, who also lived there. A well used trail to Camp Holmes stretched southwest across Pontotoc, Murray, Carter, and Jefferson counties and crossed Red River at the mouth of Beaver Creek, where Ryan now is. This trail continued to the Colorado, in Texas, and along it came Comanche, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, and other Indians to trade at Edward's post. They trafficked not only in furs and peltry but found profit in the barter of human beings. In the early days of the Republic of Texas, from 1836 to 1943, the Comanche took many white prisoners in Texas. Some they kept, such as Cynthia Ann Parker, who became the mother of Quanah Parker, but many they brought to Coffee's trading post on

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[10] Brackett, Albert History of the United States Cavalry (New York, 1865), 145 ff.

Red River, or Edwards's on the Canadian and sold either to the traders or to other Indians; these would ultimately take them to Fort Gibson and collect the ransom if any were offered, which in some cases was guaranteed by the government of Texas.

In fact Edwards's Settlement became a sort of clearing house for prisoners captured in Texas, and a number of white prisoners brought here were the subject of diplomatic correspondence resulting in delivery to their relatives in Texas by the agency of the officers at Fort Gibson. While Daniel Webster was Secretary of State his office was engaged in correspondence[11] with the State Department of Texas concerning two negro boys who had been taken prisoners in that Republic, in February, 1839. These boys, whose names were Manuel and Aaron, were the property of Dr. Joseph W. Robertson who lived on Colorado River. They were brought by the Indians to the mouth of Little River where they were disposed of, one to Mr. Edwards and the other to Jesse Chisholm. Robertson traced them to Edwards's[12] and then reported the matter to his government. Subsequently, during the incumbency of Mr. Upshur as Secretary of State, these negro boys were the subject of cabinet conferences. President Harrison refused to recognize the right of Texas to demand their return, but in 1844 when Harrison had been succeeded by Tyler, orders were given to Pierce M. Butler, Cherokee Agent at Fort Gibson, to cause the prisoners to be delivered to Dr. Robertson. Edwards's Settlement was on the south or right bank of Little River and and one-half miles above the mouth and about five miles south of where Holdenville is.

When Colonel Dodge returned to Fort Gibson, in September, 1834, from his expedition to the Comanche and Wichita villages, he induced representatives of those tribes, the Kiowa and others to accompany him. At Fort Gibson, a conference was held[13] with these Indians and representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes, and the western Indians were told that a treaty would be held with them the next year. Accordingly in June, 1835, a military force of two hundred fifty under Major R. B. Mason was sent to a point on the north side of Canadian River about five miles northeast of where Purcell now is and a post was established there, which was called Fort Mason, or Camp Holmes, "on the eastern border of the Grand Prairies." There were in attendance over five thousand of the western Indians, and the government was represented by Governor Montford Stokes and General Arbuckle who negotiated the treaty,[14] the first ever made with these wild western Indians. For the purpose of reaching this place a road had been laid out from Fort Gibson to Fort Mason. Colonel A. P. Chouteau established a trading post at the same place and the road leading there was for many years a well known trail. Fort Mason was reached also from the southwest by well used Indian trails extending into Texas.

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[11] American Historical Association. Annual Report for 1908 (Washington, 1911), vol. ii (1) 107 ff.

[12] Robertson did not dare let it be known at Edwards's what his business was or that he was from Texas; for there were camped in the neighborhood a large number of Cherokee Indians who recently had been driven out of their home in Texas when many of their number were killed includnig their chief the celebrated Colonel Bowle.

[13] Catlin, George. Letters and notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians (Philadelphia 1857), Vol. ii, p. 521.

One of the early trails to be noted on the old maps was that established by Dr. Josiah Gregg upon his celebrated expedition, in 1839, from Fort Smith to Chihauhua. Doctor Gregg had a party of twenty-five or thirty men with a number of wagons, and two small cannon. He ascended Canadian River in May, as far as the Panhandle of Texas, where he crossed to the south side and continued to Santa Fe. Departing from there he went to Chihuahua and then came back to Santa Fe, December 6, and, returning, pursued a course along the south side of Canadian which he crossed within what is now Blaine County, Oklahoma, and continued to Van Buren on his old trail. An interesting account of this expedition is contained in his classic "The Commerce of the Prairies."[15]

The trail followed by Doctor Gregg from Fort Smith to Santa Fe was substantially that of the James and McKnight party in 1823[16] and became a well known route to Santa Fe; after the discovery of gold in California it was employed by the adventures to that far country and for part of the way was the regular mail route to California. On April 4, 1849, Captain R. B. Marcy left Fort Smith over this same route with a body of troops to escort a company of five

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14. Kappler, op. cit., vol. ii, 322.

15. Thwaites, R. G., editor. Early Western Travels (Cleveland, 1907), vols. xix, xx.

16. Missouri Historical Society. Publications (St. Louis, 1916), "Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans" by General Thomas James.

hundred emigrants who were going to California. Fort Smith was a redezvous for gold seekers from as far as New York, and for several weeks before the departure of the great caravan, the streets of that village were crowded with California wagons, oxen, and mules. Colonel Bonneville, an ardent adventurer on the prairies, had supposed he would be placed in charge of the expedition because of his former extensive experience in the west, but, greatly to his disappointment, Colonel Arbuckle selected Captain Marcy for that command.

Captain Marcy was directed to ascertain and establish the best route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe and California; he measured the distance with a chain and also with a viameter—a mark on a wheel—and found it to be eight hundred nineteen miles to Santa Fe. The expedition traveled on the south side of Canadian River following approximately the present route of the Rock Island Railroad until it reached Canadian River, near the mouth of Little River, opposite Edwards's Settlement and trading house near the site of Old Camp Holmes. In 1846 Edwards was still living there where he was engaged in farming but the trading store was conducted by Thomas Aird.

Captain Marcy made an interesting report[17] to the government describing his route through Indian Territory. Afterward, when the newspapers were filled with discussions of the merits of respective routes to California, Captain Marcy published his hand-book[18] for emigrants describing this and other routes. From these a few interesting paragraphs are well worth reproducing. "Our 'train' consisting of eighteen wagons, one six-pounder iron gun, and a traveling forge each drawn by six mules crossed the Poteau River at Fort Smith on the evening of the 4th of April, 1849. On the morning of the fifth we commenced our march, keeping the old road through the Poteau bottom to the Choctaw Agency. This part of the road is very muddy after heavy rains. At fourteen miles it passes the Choctaw Agency where there are several stores. There is the greatest abundance of wood, water and grass." One mile beyond Choctaw Agency they camped at Strickland's farm.

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[17] U. S. Senate, Documents, 31st Congress, First Session No. 64; Report of Captain R. B. Marcy's route from Fort Smith to Santa Fe.

[18] Marcy, Captain Randolph B. The Prairie Traveler, a Handbook for Overland Expeditions (Reprint London, 1863.).

The next day they traveled eleven miles and camped at "Camp Creek—road crosses a prairie of three miles in length then enters a heavy forest. The camp is on a small branch with grass plenty in a small prairie about four hundred yards to the left of the road." On the seventh they made twelve miles and camped on "Coon Creek—road passes through the timber and is muddy in a rainy season." They made twelve miles the next day and camped at "San Bois Creek—prairie near; some Choctaw houses at the crossing."

May ninth, they made fourteen miles to the bend of San Bois Creek where they camped on an Indian farm. The next day they traveled fifteen miles to "South Fork of Canadian or 'Gaines' Creek'—road traverses a very rough and hilly region. There is a ford and ferry upon the creek, Indian farm on the west bank." The next day they traveled over rolling prairies and after twelve miles camped at the first ford of Coal Creek. At four miles on that road the Fort Washita road turned to the left. On the twelfth they made only four miles over a rough mountainous road and camped at Little Cedar Mountain. The next day their road was still mountainous and rough and they made only six miles. The fourteenth they made but five miles and camped at Shawnee village. The next day they made fourteen miles and camped at "Shawnee town—road passes several small prairies . . . . at this place the road forks; the right going to Edward's trading house, eight miles off and the left is our trail. Should travelers desire to purchase supplies, this is the last point where they can be obtained, as the road here leaves the settlements. Horses, cattle, corn, and many articles of merchandise can be had at Edward's settlement, on the north bank of the Canadian.

"While here I engaged a Delaware Indian named Black Beaver to accompany us as guide and interpreter, and he proved to be a most useful man. He has traveled a great deal among most of the western and northern tribes of Indians, is well acquainted with their character and habits, and converses fluently with the Comanche and most of the other prairie tribes. He has spent five years in Oregon and California, two years among the Crow and Black Feet Indians. Has trapped beaver in the Gila, the Columbia, the Rio Grande, and the Pecos; has crossed the Rocky Mountains at many different points, and indeed is one of those men that are seldom met with except in the mountains."

They camped here two weeks while supplying themselves with corn and beeves for their long journey and on the first of May departed. They soon crossed "two small streams (affluents of the Washita) which are called, after they unite, 'Mustang Creek,' from the fact that wild horses are often found upon it. As Beaver assured me that we should find no more hickory timber after passing this stream, I procured an extra supply of poles, axles, and hounds for our wagons to serve us across the 'plains,' and would advise all persons passing over the road to do the same, as, after passing here there is no suitable timber for such purposes."

May fifth there was a severe storm of wind and rain and the roads were so heavy they were unable to move. But on the seventh "making a start this morning by hard work on our men and animals we made five miles. At our camp, late this evening, we can see the valleys of both the Washita and Canadian and we are now upon the ridge dividing the waters of these two rivers. As we are now coming into the vicinity of the Comanche 'range' I have given orders for cartridges to be issued to the command, and shall take up our line of march from this time in the following order: The dragoons in advance about one mile from the train, the cannon in the center, and the guard in the rear."

They made eleven miles on May 8 and on the ninth after covering seventeen miles over the high prairies camped opposite Fort Holmes and must have spent the night approximately on the site of Purcell. Here they were obliged to wait for the arrival of the California emigrants. At Edwards's, the emigrants under Captain Dillard[19] had crossed to the north side of the Canadian thinking they would find better roads but in this they were mistaken and when they arrived at Chouteau's old trading post they were glad to cross the Canadian and join the military contingent. On May 12, Captain Marcy notes: "As the Fort Smith company have not arrived we are burning a small coal pit sufficient to serve us across the plains. This evening I received a note from Captain Dillard of the Fort Smith company informing me that he will join us in three days. He has had great difficulty in passing over the road upon the north side of the Canadian and the company express much regret that they were not governed by his wishes to follow up our trail; they promise to do so in the future."

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[19] Captain John Dillard, the father of Mrs. S. M. Rutherford of Muskogee.

After being soaked by another severe storm they were able to resume their march on the sixteenth when the emigrants joined them and on the seventeenth entered the Cross Timbers. "After marching six miles we reached the large prairie between the two Cross Timbers and encamped upon the head of Chouteau Creek where we found good grass, fine clear spring water and oak wood." They continued through the Cross Timbers and on May 21, camped on a spring flowing into Spring Creek, the valley of which Marcy noted for its beauty and fertility. They continued without particular incident on to the Staked Plains and, on the eighth day of June, Marcy notes: "We left the Fort Smith company at Timber Creek. They were detained in consequence of the illness of the wife of an emigrant and we have learned this evening that the result of the detention has been an addition to the company of two promising boys (twins) which the happy father has done Captain Dillard and myself the honor of calling Dillard and Marcy. For my part I feel highly complimented; and if I never see the gold regions myself, I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that my name is represented there."

The expedition reached Santa Fe on June 28. There being no wagon road west of Santa Fe the emigrants were obliged to descend the Rio Grande del Norte three hundred miles to reach the Gila River route, blazed in 1846 by Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, which they followed west. Captain Marcy left the emigrants and returned to Fort Smith by a route that brought him south of the Llano Estacado; crossing the headwaters of the Colorado and Brazos rivers in Texas, they crossed Red River and passed by Fort Washita in a northeasterly direction—much the same route as that followed by Albert Pike on his return in 1832 from his trapping expedition to Santa Fe. On October 7, Captain Marcy's command was saddened by the loss of Lieutenant Montgomery P. Harrison, a West Point graduate of the class of 1847. While they were camped on the headwaters of the Colorado he was engaged in examining a ravine a short distance from camp when he was captured by the Indians, killed and scalped. His body was recovered and brought back to Fort Smith by his companions.

Captain Marcy recommended the route covered by him on his return to Fort Smith as the best highway for caravans going to California. His experience demonstrated the superiority of oxen over mules and horses for these long journeys. In the middle of October they were overtaken by a terrific storm accompanied by a cold wind from the north, now known as a "norther." Thirty-three of his mules that had been failing day by day from the hardships of the journey died that night; while his oxen that were very lean at the beginning of the journey, were constantly improving under the same conditions.

Captain Marcy was ordered in 1851 to establish a military post as far out on the south side of the Canadian River as requisite for a garrison to protect emigrants and traders on the route and to maintain peace among the Indians. He established his command at a place on the emigrant trail on Canadian River called by him Camp Arbuckle; later he advised that the post be located on the Washita River, and as his advice was followed, on the tenth day of June of that year his command from the Seventh Infantry arrived at Wild Horse Creek near the Washita about thirty miles southwest of Camp Arbuckle and established the post that was named Fort Arbuckle.

Before Captain Marcy set out with the California emigrants, an earlier expedition had departed from the Cherokee Nation and established what became known as the Cherokee Trail. Captain L. Evans of Fayetteville, Arkansas, headed a party of forty wagons and one hundred thirty persons from Washington County, Arkansas, and the Cherokee Nation that departed April 20, 1849. They crossed Grand River near the site of the present town of Salina, Oklahoma, fording the river at the place crossed and described by Washington Irving, in 1832. They then proceeded northwest and crossed the Verdigris above where Claremore now is and pursued a northwest course between Caney and Verdigris rivers until they struck the Santa Fe Trail, on the twelfth day of May, at a point on Turkey Creek about twenty-five miles east of the Little Arkansas River. Here at the forks of the two trails they set up a large stone upon which they had engraved "To Fayetteville, Ark., 300 miles-Capt. Evans' Com'y, May 12, 1849." They left also at the monument in an oil cloth envelop an account of their journey thus far, with the request that the person discovering it would forward it to the Saint Louis Republican for publication. It was found on May 25, by a west-bound company from Missouri who caused it to be carried to Saint Louis and it duly made its appearance in the Republican of July 2, and later in the Arkansas Gazette of July 26, 1849.

Not long afterward Captain Buford left Santa Fe with an escort for the east-bound mail and a number of Chihuahua merchants. He proceeded on the Santa Fe Trail until he came to Captain Evan's Cherokee Trail which he followed and arrived at Fort Gibson July 29, after a journey of twenty-five days from Santa Fe covering a distance of eight hundred fifty-one miles. Captain Buford recommended this route for emigranting parties from Fort Smith and Van Buren. This became a well used route and was employed not only by the adventurers to Santa Fe and California, but by those subsequently traveling to the gold diggings at Cherry Creek, that afterward became known as Denver, Buford reported that on June 7, the next day after leaving Santa Fe, he met between six and seven hundred California emigrants from Fort Smith and Van Buren.

Captain Marcy described[20] this Cherokee Trail a few years later, then somewhat altered. "Another road which takes its departure from Fort Smith and passes through the Cherokee country, is called the 'Cherokee Trail.' It crosses Grand River at Fort Gibson, and runs a little north of west, to the Verdigris River, thence up the valley of this stream on the north side for 80 miles, when it crosses the river, and, taking a northwest course, strikes the Arkansas River near old Fort Mann, on the Santa Fe trail; thence it passes near the base of Pike's Peak, and follows down Cherry Creek, from its source to its confluence with the South Platte, and from thence over the mountains into Utah, and on to California *via* Fort Bridger and Salt Lake City.

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[20] Marcy, Captain R. B. op. cit, 4

"For persons who desire to go from the Southern States, to the gold diggings in the vicinity of Cherry Creek, this route is shorter by some three hundred miles than that from Fort Smith *via* Fort Leavenworth. It is said to be an excellent road, and well supplied with the requisites for encamping. It has been traveled by large parties of California emigrants for several years, and is well tracked and defined."

The third California route across Oklahoma proceeded from Van Buren and Fort Smith up Canadian River on the Marcy trail until it came to Coal Creek when it took a more southerly route, passing Perryville, near where McAlester was afterward located, then through Boggy Depot and arriving at Fort Washita, which was located on Washita River about twenty-five miles above the mouth. It was customary for the emigrating parties to rendezvous at Fort Washita, where detachments would consolidate, elect their officers and make their final preparations before crossing Red River into Texas and straightening out on their long southwestern tangent to El Paso.

A party under Captain John A. N. Ebberts had left Fort Smith on March 20, 1849,[21] and arrived at Santa Fe May 27. They called themselves the New York Knickerbocker Company, and included emigrants from Indiana, Arkansas, Ohio, and Tennessee. They had twelve wagons drawn by ox and mule teams, and traveled up the south side of Canadian along the route that was followed by Marcy's command a few weeks later. The Knickerbocker Company said it was the best natural road they had ever seen. Another party known as the Cherokee and Mississippi companies left soon after and arrived at Santa Fe on June third. There were thirty-eight in the party and they traveled by way of the North Fork of the Canadian, Little River and Chouteau's old trading house, crossing the Canadian approximately in Blaine County, Oklahoma; thence westerly four days, due north ninety miles, west and northwest for several days more in to Santa Fe.

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[21] The accounts of these California emigrating parties are taken from the files of the Arkansas Gazette for 1849 and 1850 in the Congressional Library; many of them were copied in that paper from contemporary accounts in the Fort Smith and Van Buren papers.

Another party of thirty-five emigrants recruited from Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana organized at Edwards's trading house at the mouth of Little River. Under the command of Captain Shaw they left Little River April 16, and arrived at Santa Fe thirty-six days later. June 28, a small party from Fort Smith with two ox teams was brought by Howard and Sullivan into Santa Fe after two months on the road. Another party of forty with ten wagons under S. B. Bonner of Georgia and Colonel P. Hawkins left Fort Smith on June 21 and arrived at Santa Fe fifty-five days later.

Accounts brought back in the fall and winter of 1849 threw the east into a fever of excitement and thousands began making preparations to rush to California as early in the spring as the grass would make travel possible; in this particular, the Fort Smith route had a great advantage over the northern routes. The Arkansas Gazette, Fort Smith Herald and Van Buren Intelligencer and other Arkansas papers were teeming with news of emigrants about to plunge into Indian Territory on their way to the Eldorado. On March 1, 1850, a citizens committee of Fort Smith issued a circular setting forth the merits of the Canadian river route to Santa Fe and California and containing information for travelers about to leave for the west. On March 1, 1850, J. N. A. Carter, of Van Buren, announced that, as soon as the grass would make it possible to travel, he would head a party to California. He had gone out the year before by the Arkansas River route and proposed going again that way.

Early in April, a party from eastern Texas arrived at Fort Smith on their way. Colonel W. B. Runnels, of Mississippi, came up Arkansas River by boat to await the arrival of others who were to join his party. Eight other wagons of emigrants were camped near Fort Smith making their preparations to start. Doctor Potts, James Sewell, Jr., and fifteen others from McLean's Bottom were on their way to Fort Smith where they were to be joined by a party from Franklin County, under W. M. Martin. Doctor Harger, of Fort Smith, announced that he was making up a party to leave for the gold diggings on May first.

By the middle of April, it was reported that California emigrants were arriving daily at Van Buren and Fort Smith. Colonel Reynolds and his party with fifteen wagons left Fort Smith for Fort Washita where they would rendezvous for several days awaiting other detachments. The vanguard of Captain Cotteral's party had left Van Buren for Fort Washita to await the remainder of their company before crossing Red River and proceeding southwestwardly to the Rio Grande and Gila rivers. Two parties from Johnson County, one with pack mules and the other with wagons had just left Van Buren over the Canadian River route. Captain Robert Harris and a company of emigrants from Washington and Crawford counties had left over the Cherokee Trail for the northern route. Harris who was described as an experienced frontiersman planned to take his party through the Rocky Mountains by the head of Arkansas River. Captain Riddle from near New Madrid had arrived with a party that included several ladies.

The first of May the papers reported that the emigration was increasing daily and hourly, and predicted that the roads would be crowded all summer. Doctor A. Bronson, O. H. Smith, Green Snuggs, H. Rigney and their party had left Van Buren to join others at Fort Washita. They had two wagons and fourteen mules and pack saddles. Judge Brown had left also for Fort Washita where he would head a party planning to leave there on May first. T. T. Henry, S. A. Harris, J. H. Peel and H. Byrd, from Conway County, had departed. Tanner and his company from Jefferson County, and the Scott County boys were going out on Colonel Marcy's road up Canadian River, on which another party of twenty-seven men had just started.

While the fevered emigration to California brought prosperity to Fort Smith and Van Buren, it was not an unmixed blessing. Emigrants came in such numbers that they purchased and ate up all the provisions in the towns so that the local population were nearly destitute of food. Serious apprehension was felt too at the exodus of the population of Arkansas to California. Senator Borland wrote a letter of warning, which was published in April, 1850. He stated that a thousand had gone from that state in 1849 and that two thousand would go the next year, which threatened to drain the state of people and money. And this great movement was going on in spite of untold hardship and suffering and peril confronting the emigrants in this flood of humanity. In 1849 and 1850, cholera was raging over the country and the California trails were marked by hundreds of graves of the victims of this dread disease, though it was not so much felt on the southern routes as in the north where thousands of Indians died from it.

The gold rush projected the slavery question into heated newspaper discussions. Much publicity was given to Senator Benton's statement that the only feasible route to California was in the north by Fort Laramie and Fremon't trail. The question of carrying slavery into California was involved in bitter controversy over the respective merits of the northern and southern routes and regret was expressed in many quarters that the proponents of the Fort Smith route had not made their influence more potent. In June, 1850, a party coming into Independence from the west reported that they had counted ninety-two hundred wagons bound westward, and it was estimated that there were then seventy-five thousand west-bound emigrants on the upper trails as against twenty-five thousand on the southern routes.

In a few years, however, the friends of the southern route had a powerful champion in Jefferson Davis, who, as Secretary of War, directed the survey of a route for a railroad from Memphis to California. On March 3, 1853, Congress passed an act[22] directing such explorations and surveys as might be deemed necessary to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. Secretary Davis then ordered a survey to be made along the thirty-fifth meridian, which, for the most part, lies south of the Canadian River, and gave direction for following the headwaters of the Canadian, crossing the Rio Grande del Norte and proceeding on to the Pacific Coast.

The surveying party under Lieutenant A. W. Whipple started from Fort Smith July 14, 1853, and followed approximately the military road marked along the south side of Canadian River by Captain Marcy in 1849 as the California road. From Fort Smith the party proceeded fifteen miles southwest to the Choctaw Agency which had become known as Scullyville, near where is now Spiro. Since the establishment of the Agency in 1832 the Choctaw had been accustomed to receive their money at this place. Money in Choctaw is "Iskuli-fehna," hence the name "scully" attached to the place.

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[22] United States Statutes at Large, vol. x, 219.

Passing through the north part of Haskell and Pittsburg counties the surveyors arrived at the Shawnee Hills and Shawneetown in what is now Hughes County. They found there a considerable settlement of Shawnee Indians with well cultivated fields. Crossing to the north side of Canadian River they visited Edwards's settlement, near the mouth of Little River. Here they found Edwards's son-in-law, Jesse Chisholm, from whom they purchased several head of beef cattle. Chisholm, they reported, was the owner of seven Mexican slaves whom he had bought from the Comanche Indians. Leaving Shawneetown, they passed through Pontotoc County and reached old Camp Arbuckle, on the river in McLain County. The old log buildings abandoned here when Fort Arbuckle was established, were now occupied by several hundred Delaware Indians under the celebrated chief and guide Black Beaver. They had been unable to induce either Chisholm or Black Beaver to act as guide for the surveying party. A little farther they came to Mustang Creek where they noted an old Indian trail used by the southwestern Indians coming to Chouteau's trading house. The Indian trail pointed out an easy grade for the railroad

Whipple's report[23] contains an interesting account of that part of Oklahoma examined by him, and of a number of people, Indian and white, whom he met. The survey however, was unavailing to locate the transcontinental railroad in Oklahoma. It was built in the north instead. The causes and effects of this result belong to other discussions. A wide field is open if one wishes to speculate on the different history that would have been written in Oklahoma, in the west and in the nation, if this railroad had been built instead of the Union Pacific.

Before the rush to California began, a flood of emigration had been rolling across Indian Territory in another direction. While the Mexican War was raging, emigration to Texas was in full tide and the main route employed by the emigrants was a road in the eastern part of Indian Territory known as the Texas Road. One branch came from Baxter Springs, Kansas, and followed the divide between the Verdigris and Grand rivers to Fort Gibson. The other branch came from Saint Louis through Springfield, Missouri, and Maysville, Arkansas, and past Fort Wayne on upper Spavinaw Creek to Salina, and joined the other. There were six stations between Fort Gibson and Baxter Springs where the stages changed horses and refreshments and lodgings were provided; one about where Wagoner now is, Chouteau's Station and one about ten miles northeast of Pryor and the others distributed between there and Baxter Springs. The Texas Road proceeded southwest from Fort Gibson past Honey Springs and crossed Canadian River just below where is now Eufaula. Here was a place called Fishertown and another called North Fork Town. Other stations built on the Texas Road were Perryville and Boggy Depot. At the latter place the road forked and one branch went directly south to Warren's on Red River and the other reached the river at Preston by way of Fort Washita.

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[23] Whipple, Lieutenant, A. W., and Lieutenant J. C. Ives, Explorations for a Railways route from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean (Washington, 1853-4).

Lieutenant J. W. Abert, an army officer traveled the Texas Road from Fort Gibson in October, 1846, by way of Maysville, Bentonville, Springfield, and Waynesville. He said in an official report:[24] "The way from Fort Gibson was literally lined with wagons of emigrants to Texas and from this time until we arrived at Saint Louis, we continued daily to see hundreds of them."

The Texas Road was much employed during the Civil War in the movement of troops and teaming of supplies by both sides to the conflict; and the bloodiest battle fought in Indian Territory was waged at Honey Springs[25] directly on this great thoroughfare, almost east of where Oktaha now is. It has been many years since this famous old road was used, but here and there the old cuts and ruts may be seen invariably following the easiest grades and caressing good springs and other favorable camping sites.

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[24] U. S. Senate. Executive Documents, 29th Congress, First Session, No. 438, p. 74.

[25] Abel, Annie Heloise Ph. D. The Indians as Participants in the Civil War (Cleveland, 1919), 288 ff.

The marvelous instinct of the pioneer and emigrant that discovered the easiest and most practicable route through this country was not surpassed by the highly trained surveyor with his expensive instruments; and it is a remarkable fact that when the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad was surveyed through eastern Indian Territory the route adopted was almost identical with that of the Texas Road. And now that the automobilist follows the same route in going to Texas and the flyers whose passage over Muskogee has become so common, look down on the shining rails of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad as their guide, it would seem appropriate to have named the Jefferson Highway the Texas Road as a well merited tribute to the patience and fortitude of the pioneer who laid it out and painfully covered its distance with his oxen or horse teams at from fifteen to thirty miles daily, unconscious that the course blazed by him would in time be charted and relied upon by the man who flew through the air.

Another famous trail but of evil renown was what was called the Whiskey Road, extending from Van Buren and Fort Smith up the north side of Arkansas River, to Webbers Falls. The soldiers at the army posts were constantly engaged in efforts to prevent the introduction of whiskey into Indian Territory. Steamboats brought it up Arkansas River but as discovery of large shipments was comparatively easy, resort was had to flat boats, keel boats and canoes that slipped up stream in more secrecy. But the wagon-road following closely the bank of the river was employed with the greatest success and, in the 'thirties and 'forties, whiskey was brought up by the wagonloads in quantities to the mouth of the Canadian from where it was forwarded up that stream and the Arkansas; the success of this enterprise was so well established that the road employed came to be known as the Whiskey Road.

After the war, the abandonment of the army posts in the eastern part of Indian Territory, Forts Gibson, Towson, Washita, and Arbuckle and the establishment of new posts in the west, Camp Supply, Fort Cobb, and Fort Sill to look after the Indians in that section; and the location of a number of Indian agencies there, the Kiowa and Comanche agency, Cheyenne and Arapaho, Wichita, and Caddo agencies caused the marking of a large number of new roads and trails. But the coming of the cattle business was the greatest single factor in the running of new trails and roads. A map of Indian Territory propared by the War Department in 1875 shows a net-work of cattle trails, roads running to and from Army posts, Indian agencies, converging on post offices and villages growing out of the influx of white people, roads crossing into towns in Texas and Kansas.

The best known cattle trail shown on the map is the great Abeline Trail coming from Henrietta, Texas, crossing Red River into what is now Jefferson County, then running north through the western edge of the Chickasaw Nation past Chickasha and through the eastern part of Canadian County; then northwest to where it crossed Cimarron River, north of Kingfisher, where it was joined by the Chisholm Trail coming in from the southeast. From here it ran slightly east of north to the Kansas line. The Texas Cattle Trail crossed Red River at Preston and ran north through Stonewall i nwhat is now Pontotoc County, crossed the Canadian at Edwards's settlement and so on northeast. The Shawnee Cattle Trail ran past the vicinity of Pauls Valley, crossed the Canadian at where is now Shawnee and went northeast to the Misouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad at Muskogee. The Osage Trail ran through the Osage Nation.

—*Grant Foreman.*

JOURNAL OF
THE ADJOURNED SESSION OF FIRST GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY

OKMULGEE, M. N., Tuesday,
Dec. 6th, 1870.

General Council of the Indian Territory assembled pursuant to adjournment.

Enoch Hoag Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Presiding.

I. G. Vore, Secy. *Pro. Tem.*

Delegates present:

CHEROKEE NATION,	O. H. P. Brewer
	S. M. Taylor,
	J. A. Scales
	Stealer
	Joseph Vann
MUSKOKEE NATION	George W. Stidham
	J. R. Moore
	G. W. Grayson
	J. M. Perryman,
	Timothy Barnard
OTTAWA NATION,	Francis King
CONFED'D PEORIAS &C	Edward Black

[16] Credentials presented and the following Delegates admitted to seats:

CHOCTAW NATION,	Campbell LeFlore
	John McKinney
	William Fry
	Ma-ha-tubbe
	Alexander R. Durant
	James Thompson
	Joseph P. Fulsom
	Alfred Wright
CHICKASAW NATION	Charles P. H. Percy
	Joseph James
	Hopiah-tubbe

A quorum not being present, on motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 7, 1870,

9 O'CLOCK A. M. Council met pursuant to adjournment.

The following Delegates took their seats:

MUSKOKEE NATION	L. C. Perryman S. W. Perryman Oktarharsars Harjo
CHEROKEE NATION	John Sarcoxie
GREAT AND LITTLE OSAGES	Augustus Captain
SEMINOLE NATION	John F. Brown Fus-hat-che-Harjo

On motion the following Resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, by the General Council of the Indian Territory, That the following Delegates be added [17] to the several committees.

Alfred Wright on Relations with the United States.

James Thompson on Judiciary.

Campbell LeFlore and J. P. Fulsom on International Relations.

John McKinney on Education and Agriculture.

C. P. H. Percy on Finance.

A quorum not being present, on motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

THURSDAY, December 8, 1870,
9 O'CLOCK, A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

George W. Walker was admitted to a seat as a Delegate from the Muskokee Nation.

A quorum being present, Council proceeded to business.

On motion the following persons were appointed by the President to interpret the Proceedings of the General Council to the members of the different Nations who do not understand the English language:

For the Muskokee and Seminole Nations, David M. Hodge.

For the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, Joseph P. Folsom.

For the Absentee Shawnee, Robert Deer.

The delegate from the Muskokee Nation to whom was committed the message and invitation to the Comanche, [18] Kiawa, Arapahoe, Cheyenne, Caddo, Wichita and other tribes on the Plains, reported that the message and invitation had been transmitted through interpreter for the Absentee Shawnees, and that no response had as yet been received.

Credentials of members presented and the following Delegates admitted to seats:

SENECAS,

George Spicer in place of James King.

WYANDOTTES,

George Wright in place of James Hicks.

The Journal of the first session of the General Council read and explained.

Mr. Percy, Delegate from the Chickasaw Nation, submitted the following additional rule for the government of the Council in the transaction and order of business, which was adopted:

Rule 10—The Council, when a quorum is present, shall be the judge of the legal qualifications of its own members. For this purpose it shall have power to examine into the validity of the credentials of its members, determine the eligibility of contestants and claimants for seats; or it may refer the same to a committee on Credentials. The Committee on Credentials shall have all the available power to cause persons or papers, or certified copies thereof, to be brought before it and shall make a correct report of the investigations and conclusions to the General Council for its final adjudication in all matters pertaining to the qualifications and eligibility of members from the several Nations of the Indian Territory, whose seats may be contested.

On motion Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

[19] Credentials presented by George W. Johnson from the Cherokee Nation who was admitted to a seat.

The following Delegates from the Cherokee Nation took their seats:

Moses Alberty, Ezekiel Proctor.

The following committee on Credentials was appointed by the President:

J. R. Moore, Muskokee Nation; C. P. H. Percy, Chickasaw Nation; James Thompson, Choctaw Nation; Francis King, Ottowa Nation; J. A. Scales, Cherokee Nation; J. F. Brown, Seminole Nation; Keokuk, Sac and Fox Nation; G. W. Walker, Muskokee Nation.

On motion credentials of Locher Hajo, Charke, and Thlathlo Yoholo referred to the Committee on Credentials

Committee on Education and Agriculture was called upon for a report. A part of the committee being absent a report was deferred.

Mr. Leflore, Delegate from the Choctaw Nation submitted the following Resolution:

Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory that the President be and is hereby authorized to appoint a Committee of ten, to advise a permanent organization of the Indian Territory as contemplated in the Treaties of 1866 with the several Tribes resident in the said Indian Territory. Adopted.

The following Committee appointed:

Campbell Leflore, Choctaw Nation; W. P. Ross, Cherokee Nation; C. P. H. Percy, Chickasaw Nation; G. W. Grayson, Muskokee Nation; J. F. Brown, Seminole Nation; Edward Black, Confed. Peorias; etc. [20] Francis King, Ottawa Nation; Augustus Captain, Osage Nation; Geo. Spicer, Seneca Nation; J. A. Scales, Cherokee Nation.

Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

FRIDAY, December 9th, 1870
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Preceding minutes read and adopted. Credentials presented and the following Delegates admitted to seats:

CHICKASAW NATION	Colbert Carter Jackson Kemp.

Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization reported progress.

Committee on Judiciary asked the privilege of deferring a report until after the Special Committee on Organization made a report, which was granted.

Colbert Carter, of the Chickasaw Nation, was placed upon the Committee on Permanent Organization.

J. A. Scales, of the Cherokee Nation, on the Judiciary, vice Clement N. Vann resigned.

Mr. Wm. P. Ross, delegate from the Cherokee Nation, informed the Council that Henry Chambers had been appointed by the authorities of said nation to [21] fill the place of C. N. Vann, resigned, and that the delegate was present ready to take his seat but without his credentials, which had not as yet reached him.

On motion it was referred to the Committee on Credentials.

In order that the Committee on Permanent Organization might have time to mature a report the Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

SATURDAY, December 10, 1870.
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Preceding minutes read and adopted.

Committee on Credentials submitted the following report:

REPORT

We the Committee on Credentials, appointed to examine into the credentials of Locher Hajo and Thlathlo Yoholo submit the following report:

Upon examination of the credentials of the above named gentlemen, we find that they are so defective and imperfect, and without the signature of any officer of the Muskokee Nation, authorized to commission members of the Council, that we cannot recognize them as being sufficient to entitle the claimants to seats in the General Council of the Indian Territory.

The credentials of Charke having been examined, we find that he has been substituted by Cotchoche, the former incumbent, to take his place on account of inability to discharge his duties as a member, caused by sickness. The substitution has been approved by [22] the Executive of the Muskokee Nation as the credentials will show.

Therefore, we recommend that Charke be allowed to take his seat during the present session of the Council agreeable to the approval of the credentials.

In the case of Mr. Chambers from the Cherokee Nation, the committee find from information deemed reliable that Mr. Vann has resigned his seat in this council, and that Mr. Chambers has been appointed by the authority of that Nation to fill the vacancy and is therefore in the opinion of your Committee, entitled to his seat in the General Council of the Indian Territory.

[Signed] JAMES THOMPSON,
Chairman Committee.

Attest: CHA'S. P. H. PERCY,
Clerk Committee.

On motion, the report of the Committee on Credentials was adopted and Charke, of the Muskokee Nation, was admitted to a seat during the present session of the General Council.

Henry Chambers admitted to a seat as a delegate from the Cherokee Nation in place of Clement M. Vann resigned.

Joseph James, of the Chickasaw Nation, was placed upon the Committee on Education and Agriculture.

Colbert Carter, of the Chickasaw Nation, was placed upon the Committee on the Judiciary.

Report of the Special Committee on permanent organization submitted.

REPORT

The Special Committee to whom was assigned the duty of making a report upon the Resolution of the General Council in the words following, to-wit:

"*Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory,* That the President be and is hereby [23] authorized to appoint a Committee of ten to devise a permanent organization of the Indian Territory as contemplated by the Treaty of 1866 with the several tribes resident in the said Territory"—Respectfully state that they had given the subject such consideration as was in their power. They regard the organization of the Indian Territory under any form of Government as of the gravest importance to all the people who inhabit it.

The large and invaluable interests in lands and money, which belong to the Nations and Tribes who are settled therein, the provisions of their several Treaties with the United States. their distinct forms of government and franchise arising under them; their different languages and diversified conditions, present severally and combined interests not to be too lightly estimated nor too hastily disposed of in arranging the terms of any organization, that may be designed to blend in one harmonious system the whole of them at the same time that it preserves a just and impartial regard for their respective rights.

The opposition of all Indians to any form of Territorial Government that has been proposed by the Congress of the United States is too notorious to require any comment, It is firmly and ineradicably imbedded in their very nature. They cling to their homes, to their laws, to their customs, to their national and personal independence with the tenacity of life itself. In these sentiments your committee fully concur. And, while the leading powers invested in this General Council pervade all the treaties negotiated in 1866 by the United States with the different nations here represented, each one of them grants some important concession or retains some important right not to be found in others; in some respects they merely shadow dimly the duties of the Council, instead of clearly defining its power and authority. The responsibility of inexperienced legislators, instead of being simplified by them, is made more difficult and complex. As the best means of removing these obstacles, observing a fair deference to the sentiments of our people, and at the same time of preserving our race and of perpetuating unimpaired the rights of all, the weak and the strong; those less advanced, and those who have [24] made further progress towards civilization, your committee are of the opinion that the organization of the people here represented and such as may here after unite with them, should be a government of their *own choice*. It should be Republican in form, with its powers clearly defined, and full guarantees given for all the powers, rights, and privileges respectively, now reserved to them by their treaties. They therefore respectfully recommend that the Council proceed to form a constitution for the Indian Territory, which shall conform to existing treaty stipulations; provide for Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments, invested with such powers only, as have been conceded to this General Council and not inconsistent with all the rights reserved to each nation and tribe, who were parties to the Treaties of 186, and also with the final provision, that such constitution shall be obligatory and binding only upon such nations and tribes as may hereafter duly approve and adopt the same.

Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M., Monday.

MONDAY, December 12, 1870

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Credentials presented and the following delegate was admitted to a seat:

CHOCTAW NATION, Coleman Cole.

Minutes of the preceding meeting read and approved.

Report of the Special Committee on Permanent Organization taken up.

[25] On motion it was agreed that when a vote should be taken on the adoption of the report on permanent organization, the ayes and nays should be recorded.

The question being upon the adoption of report of Special Committee the roll was called with the following result:

Ayes, W. P. Ross, Keys, A. Ross, Sarcoxie, Brewer, Taylor, Scales, Vann, of Cherokees; Stidham, Porter, Moore, L. C. Perryman, Grayson, J. M. Perryman, S. W. Perryman, Ok-tar-har-sars Harjo, Charke, Barnard, Smith, Walker, of Muskokees; King, of Ottawas; Flint, of Eastern Shawnees; Spicer, of Senecas; Wright, of Wyandottes; Black, of Confederated Peorias and others; Keokuk and Muttatah, of Sacs and Foxes; White and Ellis, of Absentee Shawnees; A. Captain, Hardrope, Bevenue, of Osages; Fus-hat-che Harjo, Brown, of Seminoles; Leflore, McKinney, Fry, Ma-ha-tubbee, Durant, Thompson, Folsom, Wright, Cole, of the Choctaws; Percy, James, Hopiah-tubbee, Carter, Kemp, of the Chickasaws—48.

Nays—Stealer, Alberty, Proctor, Chambers, and Johnson of the Cherokees—5.

The report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Carter of the Chickasaw Nation, the following Committee of twelve was appointed to draft a constitution.

Committee:

W. P. Ross, Cherokee Nation; Campbell Leflore, Choctaw Nation; Colbert Carter, Chickasaw Nation; John F. Brown, Seminole Nation; Francis King, Ottawa Nation; [26] Joseph P. Folsom, Choctaw Nation; G. W. Johnson, Cherokee Nation; C. P. H. Percy, Chickasaw Nation; Ok-tar-har-sars Harjo, Muskokee Nation; G. W. Stidham, Muskokee Nation; Riley Keys, Cherokee Nation; Augustus Captain, Osage Nation.

Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

The following Resolution was submitted by Mr. Smith, of the Muskokee Nation, and on motion of Mr. Ross, unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the members of the General Council of the Indian Territory have had the honor to receive Messrs. Campbell, Lang, and Farwell of the United States Indian Commission, and to hear their view in regard to the general interest of the Indians in the Indian Territory and the expression of their sympathies for the welfare of all the red people; and,

WHEREAS, the General Council is desirous of preserving upon the journal of their proceedings, a record of this appreciation of the noble sentiments of truth, justice and humanity entertained by the Commissioners; therefore,

Be it Resolved: That the General Council of the Indian Territory hereby record this declaration of the pleasure they have experienced from the attendance upon the Council of Messrs. Campbell, Lang and Farwell [27] of United States Indian Commission; of their grateful appreciation of their words of hope, cheer and encouragement they have heard from them and of their own desire to conform as far as practicable, with the just and humane policy of the United States, the preservation of peace and kindness between the Indians of this Territory themselves, and with the whites upon their border, and for the improvement and perpetuation of their own people and race.

The Report of the Committee on Agriculture was submitted and adopted [see appendix marked "A"].

On motion the report was adopted.

On motion Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

TUESDAY, Dec. 13,
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Mr. E. J. Brown, delegate from the Seminole Nation, admitted to a seat.

Preceding minutes read and approved.

The President introduced the Hon. Eli S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who delivered an address setting forth his views as to the wishes and expectations of the government of the United States and of the friends of the

Indians throughout the same from the General Council of the Indian Territory, with suggestions as to the best mode of legislation to meet those expectations; and also words of cheer and [28] encouragement in this great and important undertaking.

On motion, Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of Mr. W. P. Ross, the committee of twelve for drafting a constitution for the government of the Indian Territory, retired from the Council for the purpose of entering upon their duties and was instructed to report at as early an hour as practicable.

Committee on Education was granted leave to retire to mature their report.

On motion, Council adjourned until 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 14, 1870,
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Preceding minutes read and adopted.

On motion, Mr. Scales, delegate from the Cherokee Nation submitted a resolution relating to the tribes of the Plains.

Referred to the Committee on International Relations.

The Superintendent read the commission assigning to duty G. W. Greyson as Secretary of the General Council of the Territory.

[29] On motion of Mr. Porter, of the Muskokee Nation, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Be it Resolved: That the thanks of the General Council of the Indian Territory be and is hereby tendered to I. G. Vore for the able and efficient manner in which he has conducted the duties of the office of Secretary of the Council and that the President of the Council be instructed to compensate him for his services.

On motion of Mr. Folsom of the Choctaw Nation, the Council adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

THURSDAY, Dec. 15th.
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Prayer by Mr. Duncan.

Mr. Wm. P. Ross, of the Cherokee Nation, announced that there were present two delegates from the Cherokee Nation, who would present their credentials, whereupon Mr. J. W. Adair and Joseph Thompson presented their credentials and were admitted to seats.

Credentials were also presented by two additional members from the Muskokee Nation, namely, Martup Yoholar in the place of G. W. Greyson, resigned and David M. Hodge in place of D. N. McIntosh absent.

Minutes of the preceding day read and adopted.

[30] S. W. Perryman, of the Creek Nation, introduced a resolution providing for a Committee of three persons whose duties will be to revise and rearrange the minutes and proceedings of the Council preparatory to printing and publishing the same.

Mr. Moore of the same nation moved to amend the resolution so as to provide for the rereading of the same before the adjournment of the present Council.

Resolution as amended was adopted.

Resolution read as follows,

Resolved that the President be authorized to appoint a a Committee of three presons to revise and prepare for publication the journal of the proceedings of the General Council to be read in presence of the Council before its adjournment.

President announced as members of the Committee on revision:

Allen Ross, of the Cherokee Nation; G. W. Walker, of the Muskokee Nation; E. J. Brown, of the Seminole Nation.

By request of Mr. Moore of the Muskokee Nation, Mr. James Thompson of the Choctaw Nation was added to the Committee on International Relations.

On motion of J. M. Perryman of the Muskokee Nation, the Council adjourned to meet again at 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

[31] Council met pursuant to adjournment.

The President added to the Committee on Revision, Mr. Joseph Thompson of the Cherokee Nation.

Allen Ross, of the Cherokee Nation, Chairman of the Committee on International Relations, submitted the report of that Committee in the form of a resolution tendering to the wild tribes of the Plains the hand of friendship and recommending to them the prudence of refraining from acts of hostility among themselves, as well as against the citizens of the United States.

The President highly recommended the spirit of the report and expressed a desire that every effort will be made to better the condition of the tribes of the Plains as well as all other Indians.

On motion of J. A. Scales, of the Cherokee Nation, the report was unanimously adopted.

Your committee to whom was referred the resolution in regard to the various tribes of the Plains respectfully state leave to submit the following resolution and recommend that it be adopted by the General Council:

RESOLUTION IN RELATION TO THE TRIBES OF THE PLAINS:

Resolved by the General Council of the Indian Territory, That the Superintendent of Indian Affairs be and he is hereby requested to convey through his respective agents or otherwise to the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and other tribes of the Plains, the fact that the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Muskokees, Seminoles, Osages, Senecas, Shawnees, Ottawas, Peorias, Wyandottes, Quapaws and Sacs and Foxes have met in General Council and confederated; that the object of this confederation is to preserve peace and friendship, among themselves, with all other Red Men, and with the people of the [32] United States; to promote the general welfare of all Indians and to establish friendly relations with them, to secure our lands exclusively to ourselves and to transmit them to our children after us; that the nations above named extend to them the hand of friendship, that they earnestly recommend them to refrain from acts of hostility among themselves and with the people of the United States, and that we offer them our aid and council in establishing permanently friendly relations with the Government of the same, and will meet them in council whenever practicable and desired by the Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

On motion, of Porter, of the Muskokee Nation, Council adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow.

DECEMBER 16, 1870.
9 O'CLOCK

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Minutes of the preceding day read, adopted.

Robert Lumbard as a Delegate from the Quapaw Nation in place of Geo. Lane, presented his credentials and was admitted to a seat in the Council.

James M. C. Smith, Chairman of the Committee on Education, submitted the report of that Committee which was read and referred back to the Committee for correction.

On motion of J. R. Moore, Council adjourned to meet at 1 o'clock P. M.

ONE O'CLOCK P. M.

President announced that the Committee on the Constitution had reported only a portion of its work which was taken up read twice and interpreted.

The report of the Committee on Education was received as corrected, read, and interpreted; which on motion of J. M. C. Smith was laid on the table.

And the report of the Committee on the Constitution, was taken up, read and interpreted.

Council adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

SATURDAY, Dec. 17th, 1870.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Roll was called.

Another portion of the report of the Committee on the Constitution was read and interpreted.

The report of the Committee on the Populations and Educational Interests of the several nations represented in the General Council was read and adopted. [See Appendix marked "C."]

Smith, of the Muskogee Nation, moved to adjourn until 9 o'clock Monday morning.

Motion sustained.

MONDAY, Dec. 19th, 1870.
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council convened 9 o'clock pursuant to adjournment.

The roll was called by the Secretary.

Mr. Ross of the Cherokees introduced the following resolution which was adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the General Council be respectfully requested to allow the mileage of those members for the distance they travelled in going to and returning from the regular session of the Council in September last but who failed to reach it before its adjournment until December.

By order of the President, the entire constitution as drafted by the Committee, was read a second time and interpreted.

The Committee on Education submitted a revised copy of their report of the day previous which was read and adopted.

On motion of C. Leflore, the Council adjourned to meet again at 2 o'clock.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment and the roll was called by the Secretary.

W. P. Ross of the Cherokees, introduced an invitation from the Cherokee Council requesting the location of the capital at Fort Gibson.

[35] Motion by Mr. Ross to lay the same on the table. Motion adopted.

Constitution as drafted was put upon its third reading.

Section 6th, of the Declaration of the Rights, amended by Percy, by inserting after the word *jury,* the words: *of the district wherein the crime shall have been committed.* Amendment adopted.

Mr. Ross moved to amend the 2d section of the 3rd Article by inserting after the last word the words,—*and for the Sacs and Foxes one senator;* adopted.

Mr. Percy of Chickasaw Nation moved to strike out the whole Section 2 of Article 3, and insert: *"The Senate* *shall be composed of one member from each Nation adopting this Constitution."*

The *ayes* and *nays* were called for by Geo. W. Johnson of the Cherokee Nation.

Rejected—nays 48, ayes 8.

Geo. W. Johnson moved to amend by inserting in the 3d Section of the 4th Article the words: *"and who shall not be a natural born citizen of the Indian Territory*—Withdrawn.

Leflore moved to insert as a part of Section 11 of Article 4 the clause: all commissions shall be "In the name and by the authority of the Indian Territory, and be sealed with the seal, and signed by the Governor and attested by the Secretary of the Territory." This clause was adopted.

Mr. Johnson of the Cherokee Nation moved to amend this schedule by inserting: *Provided,* that this [36] Constitution shall be obligatory and binding only upon such nations and tribes as may hereafter duly approve and adopt the same. Amendment adopted.

Council adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow.

DECEMBER 20, 1870.
9 O'CLOCK A. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

Roll called.

Minutes read and adopted.

Mr. Ross of the Cherokee Nation moved to transpose the last clause of the 3d Section of the 5th Article, and make it the concluding clause of the 1st Section of the same article. Adopted.

C. Leflore submitted an additional section as Section 17th, to the 3d Article of the Constitution as follows:

Sec. 17. The salaries of all officers created under this Constitution not otherwise provided shall be regulated by law but there shall be no increase or diminution in the same during the term for which said officers may have been elected or appointed.

Adopted.

Mr. J. Thompson, of the Choctaws, moved to amend the schedule by inserting after the word *Councils* in the 8th line the words: *or the people.* Adopted.

Leflore moved to amend Section 9 of Article 4 by inserting: *and fines,* after the word *respites.*

Adopted.

Mr. Johnson of the Cherokee Nation submitted resolutions, providing for the submitting of the Constitution to the several Nations, without taking a vote on the same at the present time, as an amendment to the schedule resolution.

Mr. Scales moved to lay on the table. Motion prevailed.

Mr. Ross called for the ayes and nays, when votes stood as follows, Ayes—W. P. Ross, R. Keys, A. Ross, J. Sarcoxie, O. H. P. Brewer, S. M. Taylor, J. A. Scales, Stealer, Moses Alberty, J. Vann, G. W. Johnson, J. Thompson, J. W. Adair, G. W. Stidham, P. Porter, J. R. Moore, L. C. Perryman, J. M. Perryman, Ok-tar-har-sars Harjo, Charke, T. Barnett, J. M. C. Smith, G. W. Walker, Martup Yoholar, D. M. Hodge, C. Leflore, J. McKinney, Wm. Fry, Ma-ha-tubbee, A. R. Durant, J. Thompson, J. P. Fulsom, Alfred Wright, Coleman Cole, Hopiah-tubbe, C. Carter, J. Kemp, F. King, L. Flint, R. Lumbard, George Spicer, Geo. Wright, Ed Black, Keokuk, John White, J. Ellis, A. Captain, S. Bevenue, Hard Rope, Wah-ta-ink-a, Fushutche Harjo, E. J. Brown. Nays E. Proctor, H. Chambers, S. W. Perryman, ayes 52. Nays—E. Proctor, H. Chambers, E. J. Brown—3.

Constitution was declared adopted. [See Appendix marked "B"]

O. H. P. Brewer of the Cherokees submitted resolution providing for the sending of delegates to the seat of the United States Government.

[38] On motion of J. Thompson, of the Cherokee Nation, Council adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

TWO O'CLOCK P. M.

Council met pursuant to adjournment.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted.

Resolved, that the General Council adjourn this Dec-20th, at 3 o'clock P. M. to meet on the first Monday in June next at Okmulgee, Creek Nation.

On motion of Mr. Ross, of the Cherokee Nation, Resolved that we tender to the President our thanks for the impartial and dignified manner in which he has presided over the sittings of the Council.

On motion of Mr. Porter, of the Creek Nation, Resolved that we tender thanks to Edward Earl, Dr. Nichalson and Thomas Miller for their kind attention and advice during the sessions of the General Council.

On motion of C. Leflore, the Council adjourned to meet at Okmulgee, C. N. on the first Monday in June, 1871.

ENOCH HOAG,
Supt. Ind. Affs.
President Gen'l Council.

G. W. GREYSON, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX

[39] The Committee to whom the duty was assigned of reporting upon the Agricultural interests and resources of the Indian Territory regret to say that they have no data upon which to estimate even approximately the quantity of land in cultivation within the limits of the Indian Territory.

The Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Shawnees, Delawares, Senecas, Quapaws, Ottawas, Wyandottes, and the Confederated Peorias, Weas, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias are an agricultural people and rely upon the cultivation of the soil and the raising of stock for their livelihood, and the Sacs and Foxes, Osages, and others are making commendable progress in that direction. The extent of their farms vary from a few acres to two and three hundred, and in one instance in the Chickasaw Nation, in the fertile valley of the Washita, to more than two thousand acres. While there are many farms sufficiently large, the majority of them might be increased with great advantage. The interest in this respect is growing, and since the close of the war to the present time, there is a marked progress in the general improvement in the buildings and farms among the [40] Indian people. In these respects there is wide room for further advancement and this we confidently expect to witness, whenever the constant agitations in Congress and elsewhere, which so much disturb the security of the people and discourage all their efforts to improvement, shall cease.

But notwithstanding all adverse influences the condition of the people is not stationary, but progressive—The idea which obtains to a considerable extent in even otherwise well informed circles remote from the homes of the Indians; that they live by hunting, fishing and trapping is entirely erroneous so far as applied to the Nations and Tribes enumerated above. They are settled and not nomadic in their habits, and rely upon the cultivation of the soil for their subsistence. Their advancement is not all that we could desire, but is an earnest of the things in the future, and shows a susceptibility for further improvement, and with proper efforts, the native ability to reach a genuine civilization. A large area of the inhabited portion of the Indian Territory is well adapted to the use of improved agricultural implements. Their introduction as yet is limited, but perhaps equal to what should be expected when it is borne in mind how much men are apt to do as their fathers did before them; as their neighbors do around them, and as the limited means at their disposal allow. Reapers, mowers, and threshers of different patents are seen in some places, while improved plows for turning prairie land and working crops, are found in large numbers. We would desire to impress the people of the Territory engaged in agriculture with the importance of giving more attention to the subject than is now done. Good implements well and timely used lighten the burdens of labor, impart a real pleasure to employment, and larger increase of results. They relieve both men and beast and directly increase the value [41] of time, by increasing its results. The crops which can be profitably grown in the soil and climate of the Territory are nearly all those adapted to a rich soil and temperate latitude. Corn is the staple crop, and even under our somewhat defective plan of culture yields upon an average from thirty to sixty bushels per acre. In favorable seasons it does well in all portions of the territory. Wheat is not so generally grown as it should be, chiefly, we apprehend because of the scarcity of mills for the manufacture of flour. The Cherokees, perhaps, grow more than any Nation in the Territory. The average yield is about fifteen bushels. It has been known to yield as high as forty-two. But few farmers there, however, prepare the soil and seed it down with the care the crop demands. South of the Canadian and on the Arkansas and Red rivers, and the uplands intervening, cotton was formerly extensively cultivated, and was the most valuable crop of that region. We hope yet to see it again whitening large and well tilled fields and bringing in treasure and wealth to our brothers of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. The Chickasaw crop this year being estimated at five thousand bales. Tobacco is extensively grown.

Of the grasses, we need say but a word—our prairies furnish all that is now to be had and all that seems to be cared for. Clover and timothy do well and would even now repay their cultivation. Blue grass also succeeds well and will be as much at home in some portions of the Territory as it is in Kentucky. Rye and oats do well all over the Territory so far as your Committee is advised, a species of the former being indigenous to the soil and affording excellent winter pasturage. Potatoes, beans, pumpkins, upland rice, turnips, cabbage, onions and nearly all garden vegetables in suitable soil and with seasonable culture grow to perfection. In horticulture with some [42] exceptions, we are lamentably behind the times. So far as tested no finer apples are grown in United States than some we have seen from orchards in Indian Territory. North of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, peaches, pears, plums and cherries succeed; while the smaller fruits, such as strawberries, raspberries, blackberries and grapes are to the "manor born."

Your Committee would be much gratified to be the means of awakening a general interest upon the subject, and stirring up the people more generally to the cultivation of the more desirable kinds of fruits. There is pleasure in the pursuit, and health and profit in the results of horticulture.

As regards the domestic animals of the Territory, we need scarcely remark that stock raising must furnish occupation for a large number of our people. It is adapted to their habits, and to our climate, and will be the source of the largest profit to those who embark in it. The number of domestic animals and the quality of their breeds have been sadly reduced and deteriorated by the War. Large and magnificent herds of cattle have entirely disappeared from our prairies, and the accumulation of forty years vanished into nothingness. But the grass still grows and the waters run inviting and urging our people to untiring efforts to renew their herds of cattle, horses and hogs, and flocks of sheep and goats. Money, food and raiment stimulate them to start again in pastural life, and to get the best improved breeds of all kinds of stock, that may be within their means.

In conclusion your committee beg leave to say that as agriculture and its kindred branches horticulture and stock raising should and must constitute the chief pursuits of the great majority of our people; [43] every means in our power should be adopted to foster and encourage them. Even now they have every inducement to increased care and exertions in those directions. Markets are now brought to our very doors, or soon will be by the extension of railroads, the increase of travel through our Territory, and the teeming population that moves with resistless activity around our borders. Everything that we can produce beyond our own consumption is, and will continue to be, in demand. The country which we possess, the homes we occupy are our own and the heritage of our children, by every right known and respected of men. Let us diligently improve and use them remembering our own responsibility in the premises, and the duty we owe to those who may come after us. Even the that they have carefully considered said subject and beg log cabin is more stable than the lodge set up with poles and covered with straw and buffalo hides. The people who have homes and cultivated fields, and orchards are more secure from intrusion and aggression than those who have no fixed residence or abiding place. This is our only home in it we must thrive and increase or diminish and perish. Either result is largely within our own control. As we choose to have it, so will it be.

PIONEERS AND PIONEERING IN WOODS COUNTY

On the 16th of September, 1893, I rode into Alva on the train. My companion was a tall, slim fellow by the name of A. H. Burtis, from Garden City, Kansas. When I got off the train, everybody started to run for town lots, and I observed my slim friend running neck and neck with a tall woman and a long, one-legged shoemaker from Kiowa. The woman had drawn her skirts up about her knees so she could run easier and the shoemaker was lunging and plunging with his one leg, and the three of them were making the best time they could to the town lot section. The spectacle was too much for my risibles, and in laughing at them I fell down and failed entirely to get a lot. On the next day, however, in skirmishing around I found a lot at the outer section of the town near the depot. It was a lot that manifestly nobody else wanted. But it sprang to my mind that perhaps it might be valuable on account of its proximity to the box car which was used for a depot. I set my stake upon it and thereby initiated my claim. J. D. Scott, who was later affectionately known as "Uncle Jim," loaned M. G. L. Miller and myself, who were law partners, his tent, in which on the corner of the square we opened our law office. Every lawyer about the town was busily engaged in making out filing papers and were all earning from $5.00 to $15.00 a day at that and filing contests. This was more money than I had ever expected to earn as long as I lived, and I was most assiduous in my attention to it. In the meantime I lost no opportunity in explaining and bragging to everybody about the valuable piece of real property I had been successful in securing. It was the first I had ever owned.

Four or five days later, Dr. H. M. Clark, a lovable character who has since died, drifted into my office and said, "Mr. Dunn, I notice you have a lot down about the depot and I am told you can get $50.00 for it if you want to sell it." I said to him, "No, I don't care to sell it. I intend to keep it." In the afternoon of the same day, my friend Burtis and another gentleman whom I did not know then, but who I afterwards learned was George Crowell, came in and offered me $100.00 for the lot. I explained to them that if it was worth $100.00 to them it was worth more than that to me, and I purposed keeping it. From then on at intervals, other men came in, and constantly raised the price on my property until it reached a value of $500.00, which, impressed with my good fortune, I refused. This was a faster rise in the value of real property than had ever taken place since the Hebrews entered the Holy Land, and faster than I ever expected to make money as long as I lived, so I began to feel myself wealthy.

You can imagine my dismay when a day or two later, Mr. Miller, my law partner, and Burtis both came in and said, "Jesse, some fellow has jumped your lot." This was alarming intelligence to me, and as they both volunteered to go with me to see if it could not be recovered, we started. On my way I gathered up a four or five foot piece of scantling, determined to do battle royal for my valuable lot. When we came in sight of it, we saw a man with a team of mules on it. On reaching there, I found that my stake had been thrown down and another one put into its place, which bore the following:

"This lot is the property of John Duncan. Anybody caught trespassing thereon will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

I immediately assumed that the man with the mules was Duncan, and backed by my very much interested friends, approached him and said, "Is your name Duncan?" He said, "No, sir. My name is Prentice." "Well," I said, "Mr. Prentice, what are you doing on this?" "Why," he said, "it had good grass on it, and I just thought I would lariat my mules so that they could eat it." "Well," I said, "this is a valuable piece of property, and it looks as if there might be some litigation over it." He said he made no claim to it and of course readily agreed to move. My efforts to retain my property met with active co-operation and assistance from my two very much interested friends.

I removed Duncan's stake (which, of course, had been put there by the jokesmiths) and re-established my own, and met with no further trouble, nor did I ever find or see Duncan. In the fall of 1896 I was elected county attorney of the county, and as the grand jury was about to adjourn during my first term, one of the members said, "Mr. Dunn, what is the statute of limitations upon a prosecution for an assault?" I told him and he then said, "Well, I just wanted to know." He said, "My name is Prentice and a fellow assaulted me with a scantling on the lot down about the depot at the time of the opening of the strip."

It is unnecessary to state that this being at a period prior to the arrival of Reverend Dinwiddie in Oklahoma and of Mr. Volstead in the nation, invitations and acceptances were then the order of the day; and it is also unnecessary to state that the lot which so rapidly grew in value was afterwards sold for taxes. The ice plant is now located on it.

COULDN'T FLY.

On the south side of the public square, a man by the name of Hepsher, father-in-law of John Wesley Bishop, had a store. One of the young ladies was named Miss Nellie. The family lived in a tent back of the store. Paying attention to Miss Nellie was a tall, rangy cowboy by the name of George Kemp, who always wore his high boots, spurs and shooting irons, and who usually arrived about once a week at the home of his inamorata. John Moe, a great big, thick, heavy, fat Swede from Wisconsin, a protege of Senator Vilas, had a place on the town site board, and began buying his cigars at the Hepsher store and paying attentions to the same young lady.

One night about nine o'clock, while visiting at her home, George Kemp arrived unexpectedly upon the scene. Moe made the best of the opportunity to get away, and down the south side of the public square to the west he ran with all the fervor and ardor that a man seeking safety ever manifested. Like the scared coon, he said, "Feet help the body," and the patter patter of his feet were clearly audible across the public square, while right behind him ran Kemp with his six shooter in active operation. Bang, bang, bang, its reports lent speed to Moe's flight. He ran clear to the home of Percy Smith, who was county clerk, and who since died (and by the way Moe also has died), before stopping, and there found a place of refuge and of relief.

On being asked a few days later why he ran, he said, "By Yiminy! because I couldn't fly."

A MOTION IN COURT.

A justice of the peace of the name of Ravenscroft, near Lahoma, was victimized by an outraged husband and wife arresting and having brought before him another outraged husband and wife, charging them with slander, which was not a criminal offense. I was county attorney at the time and was summoned to appear and prosecute, but of course declined and recommended the dismissal of the action; whereupon both parties secured counsel from Enid, the defendants in the person of J. Buell Ferguson, one of its good lawyers. At the time of the trial, Ferguson filed a motion to dismiss because the complaint did not state an offense. The story is told that Ravenscroft, taking up the motion, rapped on the table, and looking around over the crowd, which extended from the house clear out to the front gate, announced the motion, and stated that if he could get order he would put it; whereupon Ferguson asked the judge for a delay long enough until he could get his friends in the house if he was going to decide it that way.

A HAUNTED BUTCHER SHOP.

Bill Sholtz was a butcher who had a shop near Snyder's dry goods store. One day Bill, having done all of the butchering for the community that he deemed necessary, concluded he would try it on himself, and back of a big, tall ice box reaching to the ceiling in the middle of the room, he rigged up a rope and putting it about his neck swung himself off. His swinging body was discovered and he was cut down, but too late to save his life.

We just had one negro about the town whose name was Bill Franklin. He was the porter, janitor, scrubber and man-of-all-work for everybody. A few days later, the owner of the Sholtz meat shop building hired Bill to scrub it out. Claud McCrory, who has since died, Clark Hudson, Roy Stafford, Frank Shelley, who likewise has passed on, and a number of others, gained access to the rear entrance of the building, fixed up a dummy and hung it up by a rope in the same place where poor Sholtz had hung.

The next morning Bill came in with his bucket of water and scrubbing outfit and was busily engaged about his work until he came in back of the ice box and was confronted by the swaying figure. He gave two wild whoops and started for the front door. The sidewalk was covered with sleet and ice and the street was full of mud and water, and when Bill struck the sleet and ice he didn't stop until he reached the mud and water into which he rolled, to the intense merriment of the sacrilegious onlookers. Somebody else scrubbed the shop.

BARLEYCORN'S BENEDICTION.

W. H. Henderson ran the most notorious saloon in Alva. He called his place "Bill's 444." When prohibition first struck Oklahoma, I passed his place and saw that the door was draped with crepe. A cartoon was in the window showing the inside of a church with a lot of saloon keepers in the pews and a big, red-faced beer-and-whiskey dispenser in the pulpit. He was just saying, "*Brethren, we will now all rise and sing No.* 23, *'Shall we gather at the river?'* "

ADVICE NOT WANTED.

F. M. Cowgill is one of the best men and the best lawyers and one of the best fathers and the best citizens and one of the most congenial, and at the same time one of the most indifferent and uncongenial men that ever lived in Oklahoma or anywhere else. He and I loved each other like David and Jonathan, and yet two men in many particulars could scarcely differ temperamentally to a greater extent in some particulars than did Cowgill and myself. After I was elected to the bench, he concluded to quit practicing law and went into the general store goods business, opening his stock at Alva. He had for one of his clerks long, lean, lanky, sarcastic Tom Adams. Business did not flourish. Tom ascribed it to his employer's lack of congeniality and lack of ability to mix with the trade in a proper way. One day Cowgill came into the store and said, "Tom, I don't want your advice, but I want to know what you think about it. I've got a notion to move this stock to Dakota. What do you think about it?" Tom looked him over in a quizzical way, and in his halting speech said, "W-w-w-ell, M-mr. C-c-cowgill, y-y-y-you m-might t-t-try it a wh-wh-while; it w-would be a y-y-year be-be-before th-the p-p-people g-get ac-ac-acquainted w-wi-with y-you, and th-then y-you c-c-could m-mo-move ag-g-gain."

PLAYING IT SQUARE.

One of the men whose acquaintanceship I prized most highly was that gentlemanly old soldier Will J. French. We had a peculiar acquaintanceship.

On the day of the opening, he entered eighty acres adjoining Alva, but at a time when his business kept him entirely, or nearly so, in the southern part of the United States. He remained on his land practically not at all, doing just what he deemed necessary to hold it. He was contested several times and in each instance managed to shake the offenders off. Finding on one occasion when he was gone that he was going to be contested in earnest by another party, I determined to anticipate him and did so, and filed a contest case against the land. The case was bitterly fought. Two trials were had in the local office and against myself. French, who was a brave, high-tempered man, swore dire vengeance and doubtless was in a temper and frame of mind to carry it out. I kept out of his way to avoid a personal quarrel. Throughout the entire course of litigation, however, I insisted upon nothing in my own behalf except the things which Mr. French testified to or the things which were testified to by others and not denied by him. When the case was finally appealed to the Secretary of the Interior, after he had lost it all the way up and he was endeavoring to get a new hearing, he came into my office one day and asked me to make him an affidavit to help him, and I did so, making him just as strong an affidavit as the facts would warrant, and the secretary in writing his opinion commented upon the fact that "Dunn, the contestant, has made an affidavit in defendant's behalf." When the entry was finally canceled, French had been *appointed receiver of the United States Land Office.* He and I went out together over the land, appraised all the improvements he had built upon it, and I paid him for the same, and then went *into the land office with him and filed on it before him as receiver.* This was in 1900.

In 1904 I was elected chairman of the State Democratic Committee. French at the same time was chairman of the

Woods County Republican Committee. We both accidentally met at Cleo on the day of either a race meet, fair or rally. Both, tired and weary with the day's doings, entered the only hotel at practically the same time, and I registered and was assigned the last room in the house. French, standing immediately at my elbow, was refused a room. I said to him, "If you will take chances on it, I will let you sleep with me." He said, "There never was any man too mean for me to sleep with when I am as tired as I am now." I told him that there were others in the same situation, but at the same time opined that the bed would break down with us before morning. *It did,* in the middle of the night; we both turned over at once, *and out went all the slats.*

When I came to prove up on the claim, I advertised him as one of my witnesses and he, like the thoroughbred that he was, came in and faithfully testified for me. We became the staunchest and warmest of friends, and it is with a sad heartache that I have learned that he has answered the last call. He was a good fellow—a good hater and a good friend, and I loved him for both qualities.

IN THE NICK OF TIME.

In the fall of 1895, the City of Alva voted $15,000.00 waterworks bonds. Jesse F. Scanlan had a hardware store in the city and made a contract with the City Council, agreeing to put in a system of waterworks for the bonds. Thereupon the entire issue was turned over to him, and he left the city. Immediately on his departure Richards and Conover of Kansas City, Missouri, wholesale hardware merchants, acting through Mr. Womack attached and closed his store for $4,000.00 of indebtedness to it. Thereupon the city dads became exceedingly busy to find Scanlan and the bonds. I was acting as City Clerk, and when telegram after telegram and inquiry after inquiry failed to locate Scanlan and nothing could be heard from him, the city vested in me authority as its agent, and the sheriff appointed me deputy, and armed with a warrant I fared forth in the world to find Scanlan and the bonds. We naturally expected him to go to Kansas City or to St. Louis, so thither I went in November the thousands who jammed the old Union Depot early in the of 1895. Arriving in Kansas City, I crowded my way among morning, to the telegraph office, intending to ascertain from Alva if they had any news of Scanlan. As I pushed my way up to the window, I came up against the very man I was looking for—Jesse Scanlan, who was sending a telegram. I stepped back and when he turned around he saw me and recognized me, and said, "Well, I suppose you are after me." I told him I was, and I said to him, "Jesse, have you the bonds with you?" He said, "No, they are in a bank in St. Louis." We talked for a few moments, then he said, "I wish you would wait here a little bit. I want to go across to the Blossom House, and I will come back." I was agreeable, and he left me.

Just here, in order to have the story follow the track of all well-regulated anecdotes he ought to have completely disappeared, and I should have been left with my regret for my courtesy. But not so. In a few moments he returned, and asked me to go with him to the Blosom House, which I did. There I met Elmer E. Beach (who, I understand, has since passed away), who was the traveling salesman for the Richards and Conover Hardware Company, and who had sold Scanlan the goods for which he was indebted. Beach evidently knew that I had been informed that the bonds were in St. Louis, and that I had come for them. He said to me, "Dunn, there is no use in going to St. Louis on this morning's train, because you will not get in there until night, and you will not be able to do any business until tomorrow morning. You had better stay in Kansas City all day today, and then take a sleeper out of here tonight for St. Louis, and you will arrive there in the morning in due time for business. In the meantime, Scanlan and I have some business at the house and will be glad to see you at the Midland Hotel for lunch." This seemed to be fair enough, and I was agreeable.

Just here the story takes its proper course, for I kept the luncheon engagement and, of course, nobody was there to meet me. Then I went to the wholesale house and, of course, they were not there. Then I tramped the streets of Kansas City and hunted for them, but I never saw them. During this time, however, my suspicions had been confirmed that I had been made the victim of too much confidence, and I got on the telegraph wires and sent about a dozen messages, one to every prominent bank in St. Louis, as follows: "The Alva waterworks bonds held by you have been embezzled. Under no circumstances deliver them to anyone as the city will hold you responsible for them." That night a very much disgusted, chagrined and bewildered mortal occupied a sleeping car berth on one of the trans-Missouri trains from Kansas City to St. Louis.

Immediately on landing in St. Louis, about 7:30 in the morning, without waiting for more than a cup of coffee and a doughnut, and not delaying for a shave or brush-up, I started from one bank to another about the business streets of the city just as fast as I could go, finding, of course, no one in but the janitors, but to each one of them I said that in that bank there was $15,000.00 of Alva waterworks bonds and that people were going to come to try to get them, and that I wanted him to see the first officers of the bank who arrived and to tell him that the agent of the city was there, and not to deliver them under any circumstances. In the course of these rounds, at about nine o'clock, I came to the Commercial Bank on Pine Street. A clerk had arrived by this time, and when I had sung my lay he said, "The cashier is not in, but Mr. Nichols, the president, has arrived, if you would like to speak to him." I told the clerk I would. I entered the presence of the president, presented my credentials, and told him who I was and what I wanted. He said, "Yes, I got your telegram. The bonds are here all right, but what is the matter?" Just then a page came in and said, "Mr. Nichols, there is a man in your office in a big hurry, and he wants to see you." The president excused himself and shortly came back and said, "There is another fellow here for those bonds, and he has got the receipt with him that we issued when we received them, and also an order from Scanlan, the man who left them here, and demands that I turn them over." I immediately went with him, and there in his private office was my Kansas City acquaintance, Elmer Beach, fully credited with authority to receive the bonds and absolve the bank from all liability. I explained the situation to Mr. Nichols, and he declined to deliver the bonds to either of us. Whereupon, I brought a replevin suit in a Justice of the Peace court, alleging that their value was $250.00. Geo. T. Parry and I went to St. Louis in the spring of 1896, tried the case, and removed the bonds.

Napoleon said that he defeated the Austrians in Italy because *they did not know the value of five minutes.* The time it took Elmer Beach to get his breakfast, shave, shine and manicure was less than the difference in the time of his arrival and mine at the Commercial Bank which held the bonds.

NEED OF CONSISTENCY.

Alva, like all of the balance of the Strip towns, grew into a city without any preparation for it. Therefore, immediately after the citizens had time to get out of the tents and into houses, they began to prepare to take care of the needs of the municipality. Among the first things considered was the question of water, and among the first meetings held were those devoted to a discussion of how to solve the water problem. Like most of the other towns, Alva also had her full supply of saloons which were generally generously patronized by the men of those early times. In fact, it was something of a rarity to find a member of the "No, thank you club." The first waterworks meeting was largely attended by not only those who were patrons of the bars, but also by those who were purveyors back of the bars, along with all of the balance of the adult population of the city. The question was whether to vote waterworks bonds for a system of waterworks, and one after another of these old, well-known souses and their equally well-known creditors arose and proclaimed in vociferous tones the necessity of waterworks. Along with the balance of the citizenship was F. M. Cowgill, who was one of the few citizens of the community who neither drank nor looked with equanimity upon anyone else who did. He wore wiskers and eyeglasses, and, when the Christian preacher failed in his appointments, usually filled his pulpit. After quite a number of the membership of the bleary-eyed community had been recognized and spoken to or on the subject, the chair called on Cowgill. He looked over the audience, made a mental and cursory review of those who had preceded him and and spoken on the subject, and said, "Mr. Chairman, I don't know anything about this water question, but I would like to hear somebody talk on it *who uses water,*" and sat down.

'Nuf sed!

A CREDIT ALLOWANCE.

One afternoon, A. C. Towne and the writer drifted into the court of J. J. Hughes, who was judge of the county court, to argue a demurrer. On coming in, we found that Hon. C. H. Mauntel, who was then county attorney, was prosecuting a young fellow, who was charged with having stolen three hogs at Isabella in Woods county and having loaded them into a wagon and taken them to Waukomis to the railroad, where he sold them for $21.50. The defendant, about twenty-one years of age, had no counsel and had entered a plea of guilty. Under the statute, the value of the property being in excess of $20.00, he was guilty fo a felony and was headed direct to the penitentiary. If its value could be reduced it would be a misdeameanor, which a jail sentence would cover. Towne and myself, grasping the situation and seeing that the young fellow was without counsel, and being acquainted with his people, asked the court for permission to talk to the boy and see if a defense could not be found for him. This was granted. The trial was proceeded with, and we established by witnesses that it was worth $3.00 to haul the hogs from Isabella to the railroad, secured credit therefore upon the price received, reduced the offense thereby to a misdemeanor, and justice in Oklahoma once more triumphed.

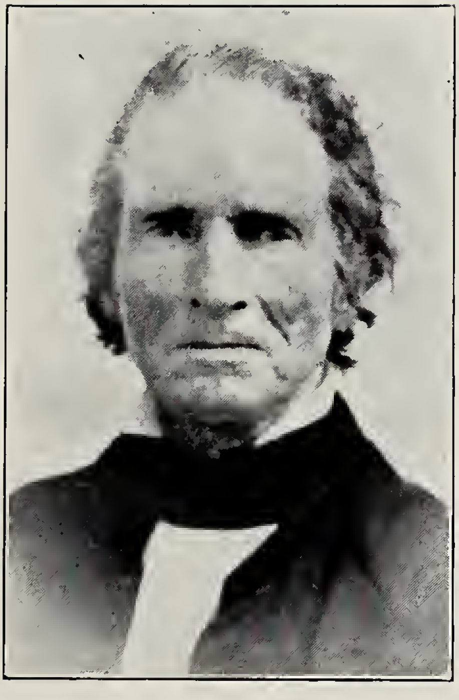
I will say again, as I have often said before, Chris Mauntel is one of the best hearted fellows in the world, for he did not much oppose such a flagrant breach of the law,—even though he was county attorney.

—*Jesse J. Dunn.*

DIARY OF REV. CYRUS KINGSBURY

Among the heirlooms handed down from missionary forebears, and now in the possession of Rev. Ebenezer Hotchkin, of Durant, Oklahoma, is a small black memorandum book, closely written in ink, now faded, but in the neat legible hand much more common seventy-five years ago than today. This little book contains a diary for the year 1853 in the handwriting of that pioneer and prince of missionaries, Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury. In this book nearly every day during that entire year he recorded a sentence or two—matters never intended for other eyes than his own. These, taken together, give the reader a very fair idea of the man's character, his pure life, his kind heart, his fervent piety and strong Christian faith, and furnish a good account of the many and varied duties that occupied so much of his time.

Before giving a few selections from this little book, it may be of interest to recount the outstanding facts of Dr. Kingsbury's personal history and service. He was born (as we find in his own handwriting on the fly-leaf of this diary) on Nov. 22, 1786, at Alstead, New Hampshire. Having made a profession of religion in 1806, his earnest mind and heart soon turned towards the ministry. Guided by Rev. Dr. Crane, he received his preliminary education at Northbridge, Mass. He early came under the influence of that noble band of young men, led by Samuel J. Mills, who burning with a desire to win the world for Christ, first gave to the hesitant church of that day the now familiar slogan "We can do it if we will." Kingsbury graduated from Brown University in 1812, the same year that Adoniram Judson, a graduate of the same school, went as the first American missionary to India. Three years later, he completed his work at Andover Seminary, and was the same year ordained as a missionary of the Congregational Church at Ipswich, Mass. After working two years in Southwest Virginia and East Tennessee, he was in 1817 appointed by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as a missionary to the Cherokee Indians and opened up the first Indian work of that Board at Brainerd, Tenn., on Missionary Ridge, not far from Chattanooga. The Choctaws having meanwhile sent an urgent appeal to the American Board to establish a mission



Rev. Dr. Cyrus Kingsbury

among them, and bring to them the "White Man's Book," Kingsbury was given the honor and the difficult task of opening up the work among the people of that tribe, in the summer of 1818. He soon acquired the language and won the confidence of the Indians and few men who ever came among them gained a greater influence over them. Kingsbury's headquarters so long as the Choctaws remained in Mississippi, was at Mayhew, near the Government agency. His first marriage, and the death of this wife in 1822, occurred here.

When the Indians were compelled to go west, it seemed at first that the great work, so auspiciously begun, would be destroyed but, at the solicitation of the Christian Indians, backed by Kingsbury's strong support, the Board decided to re-open the work in the country west of the Mississippi. Kingsbury, like a courageous captain, sent trusted followers, among them the saintly Wright and Hotchkin, on with the Indians over the "Trail of Tears" and, lingering until nothing more could be done in Mississippi, closed the work there permanently, and journeyed to the new country where the remainder of his useful life was to be spent. His home, and the headquarters of the mission, was established at Pine Ridge, near old Fort Towson, a few miles from Doaksville, long the Choctaw capital. From this point the Christian statesman directed the work of the mission with painstaking care, and yet with a sympathy and fairness that retained for him the love of his associates, the confidence of the Indians and the respect of the Christian people of the North and East who supported the work. He lived to see the Choctaw Nation a Christian people to a far greater degree than is the American nation today. When the slavery question became bitter, from 1840 to 1860, Kingsbury and the majority of his co-workers, though nearly all New England men, took the position that slavery, perhaps wrong in itself, was an institution that was established by law, and refused to be drawn into any controversy with the people among whom he was working by interfering with their "peculiar institution" in any way. This brought about constant friction between the missionaries and the American Board, and resulted in the withdrawal of this Board from Indian Territory in 1859. Dr. Kingsbury and his mission were at once taken over by the Old School Presbyterian Church, of which he had been a member since the early days in Mississippi. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Kingsbury remained at his post, and was at least accused of "believing firmly in the right and the final success of the Rebel cause." The Mission became the first "foreign" work of the Southern Presbyterian Chuch in 1861, and Cyrus Kingsbury, therefore, one of its first foreign missionaries. He remained in the harness practically until the end of his long life, and finally died in 1870, and was buried at historic Boggy Depot in the present county of Atoka, Oklahoma.

It will be remembered that at the time this little diary was written, Dr. Kingsbury (by the way, one of the large New England colleges, Amherst, I think, had long before given him the degree of D. D.,) was 67 years of age, and rather infirm in health. He had from youth been lame in his feet, and the translation of the name by which the Indians knew him was "Limping Wolf." We shall now give a few extracts, with an occasional comment.

Jan. 1, 1853. Another year has opened upon us under circumstances of great mercy. May I make a wise and profitable improvement of its precious privileges.

Jan. 4, (Sunday). I was able to preach in the morning. A delightful day and a good congregation.

Jan. 5. Engaged in settling up the accounts of the station.

Jan. 9. Went to see an old colored brother, Dennis Folsom. He is, we think, near death.

Jan. 16. Preached at Goodland. Audience attentive. Evening, returned to Capt. Jones. Had a meeting with his own family and colored people.

NOTE.—The Captain Robert Jones referred to, was a part-blood Indian, living not far from the present city of Hugo. He was the wealthiest and most influential man of his day among the Choctaws, and had a beautiful country place furnished in true Old South style. He is said to have owned 500 slaves.

Jan. 23. Preached in the morning at Doaksville; P. M. at Towson; night at Doaksville. A deathlike stupidity seems to pervade this neighborhood. O Lord, revive Thy work.

Jan. 27. Visited in Doaksville. Heard the sad intelligence that Silas Garland, one of our most worthy citizens, was called out of his house and shot down dead! A most diabolical deed.

NOTE.—The Garlands were one of the most prominent Choctaw families.

Feb. 4. Rode to Mr. Stark's—20 miles. A very cold day. Found the family in comfortable health. Thankful for a comfortable lodging place.

Feb. 7. Returned to Pine Ridge. A pleasant winter day. Found the family well. What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits. Not well myself.

Feb. 8. Some better this morning. May my spiritual state be improved. Lord revive Thy work in my heart. Made out the semi-annual account to Dec. 31, '52.

NOTE.—This last item referred to the financial report for the American Board.

Feb. 9. Have been reading Upham's Interior Life. Hope I have received spiritual benefit. Called on Dr. Edwards, and advised with him in regard to my health.

NOTE.—It is significant of Dr. Kingsbury's spiritual influence among all classes that this Dr. Edwards had just recently made a profession of faith and united with the Pine Ridge church.

Feb. 11. Visited Mr. W. Collins in company with Dr. Hobbs. Found him very sick. Will probably not recover. Is unprepared for death. How sad is his state.

Feb. 13. Wesley Collins died last night about one o'clock. Poor man had neglected his soul. Buried this evening.

Feb. 14. Preached last night at Capt. Jones'. Had no freedom. Alas, what poor preaching! Lord give Thine own word sucess!

Feb. 19. Took last night ten grs. Blue Mass and five grs. Calomel, and this morning 17 grs. of rhubarb and 20 of magnesia. Pain still continues.

NOTE.—Quite frequently, he gives an account of medicine taken by himself or family. The remedies and quantities are characteristic of the period. We may sometimes wonder how Dr. Kingsbury lived to be 84 years of age.

Feb. 27. Preached at Doaksville. P. M. preached the funeral of Dennis and Lydia. A large number of black people present.

NOTE.—The old negro, formerly referred to had died, followed soon by his wife. Dr. Kingsbury was kind and attentive to the black people as well as to the red and white.

March 23. Rode to Wheelock. Found Bro. Wright more comfortable than I had expected. Bro. Byington and Bro. Hotchkin came. A happy meeting.

NOTE.—Rev. Alfred Wright, the "beloved physician" both of souls and bodies, who built the oldest church now standing in Oklahoma, was then on his death-bed.

March 30. A messenger arrived from Wheelock informing us that our dear Bro. was much worse. Another note by the mail reached us at night. No hope of his recovery. This is sad indeed. But the Lord reigns.

April 1. Our dear Bro. Wright died last night between 11 and 12 o'clock. Was buried today in the afternoon.

May 25. Put up a box of books and part of a communion service for Mayhew. Got a chain for drawing water at our upper well.

June 10. Visited Iyanubi Seminary. Whole number of scholars 35, under good discipline. Not advanced.

June 17. Went to Goodwater to attend the examination, with Mrs. K. The girls recited promptly, all from memory. No exercise of the judgment. Too much for show.

NOTE.—Visiting the schools and examining the students on stated occasions was a part of Dr. Kingsbury's duties as superintendent of the work. The diary records three or four additional visits of this kind about this same time.

July 13. Commenced raising the Presbyterian church in Doaksville, after having united in prayer. Proceeded slowly, but without any accident. Rain about noon, with high wind.

NOTE.—The church builder—another phase of missionary life.

July 22. Finished making my account with the A. B. C. F. M. for the last half year, for which I am truly thankful.

July 26. Staid last night at Mr. Bacon's. A resting place for a weary pilgrim. Rode to Pine Ridge, 32 miles.

Found the family all well. Praise the Lord for His abounding mercies.

Sept. 6. I have succeeded in collecting $700.00 for the liberation of Simon and family, that he may go as a missionary to Africa.

NOTE.—This was Simon Harrison, a pious negro slave. The plan to buy his freedom and send him as a missionary to the native land of his race is illustrative of the wide range of activities in which Dr. Kingsbury was interested.

Nov. 9. Visited the Chief and others at Doaksville. Proposed the enlargement of the school at Pine Ridge if the Nation wants to increase the appropriation.

NOTE.—The Choctaw National Council was now in session. This, and several other entries for the next few days, deal with conferences held with members of the Council. Here, we find the church statesman at work.

Nov. 15. Simon Harrison left his home this day for Liberia.

Nov. 25. Had a meeting of the family with the emigrants in the dining room. Sang "Blest be the Tie that Binds," and had a prayer, after which Simon and family and George left on their long journey to Africa's sunny shores.

NOTE.—Evidently Simon did not get off on the 15th., as stated above .

Dec. 20. Rode from Mayhew to Pine Ridge. A cold day on the prairies, but I did not suffer much. Found my family well. Lewis Garland, I hear, returned from the Annuity very sick.

Dec. 21. Visited Mr. Garland twice. He is a very sick man. Prayed with him by his request and the request of his father-in-law, who is with him very providentially.

Dec. 26. Confined to the house. Mr. Lowrie preached two excellent sermons. Lord, grant me healing and restoring mercies.

Dec. 27. Hope my health is improving. Am not yet able to go out, except just at the door.

Dec. 28. Consulted last night respecting the location of the new helpers for the mission, who are soon expected.

Dec. 31. The last day of another year. How great are my obligations to God for His abounding mercies to me and mine. What shall I render unto the Lord for all His benefits?

—*W. B. Morrison.*

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT.

In commemoration of the thirty-sixth anniversary of the opening of Oklahoma to settlement, the Daily Oklahoman published a special edition. It was probally the best contribution to the history of that event that has been compiled by any newspaper since that time. And yet it would be natural that in such a compilation errors would creep into it. Not in a spirit of criticism, but to "keep the record straight," I will call attention to a few of these errors. No doubt there are others that I am not capable of correcting.

In the story of the location of the territorial and state capitals there are several errors that should not go unchallenged. One relates to the fight during the first territorial legislature. A bill locating the capital at Oklahoma City had been introduced and passed. Excitemnet was running high in Guthrie, and the halls of the legislature were surrounded by angry citizens. Hon. D. W. Peery, member of the house from Oklahoma county was a member of the committee on enrolled and engrossed bills. As a member of that committee it was his duty to see that bills passed by the house were properly and correctly engrossed and enrolled for signature of the speaker.

The Oklahoma special edition says, regarding the capital bill: "There have been sundry versions of the scenes enacted when the 1890 assembly was trying to locate the capital and the most popular story that has clung in public memory is that it was Peery who dropped the bill in the cesspool as the most effective method of killing it."

This may have been "the most popular story" but popular stories are not history. Dan W. Peery was an ardent supporter of the bill for locating the capital in Oklahoma City; to have destroyed the bill would have defeated one of the principal purpose of his election. Mr. Peery has detailed the story of the events of that day when feeling ran high. His story will be found in the "Chronicles of Oklahoma," Vol. 2, No. 3, (September, 1924).

I will only state here that after having the capital bill correctly enrolled, Mr. Peery carried it to the speaker of the house and had him sign it. He then carried it to the council chamber with the intention of handing it to a member of the committee of that body, and have him secure the president's signature. When he arrived in the council chamber, that body had adjourned. He handed the bill to R. J. Nesbitt of Cleveland county, who was a member of the joint committee on enrolled and engrossed bills.

After delivering the bill to the council member, Mr. Peery went out to the street and there encountered a crowd of angry citizens. They had captured Speaker Daniels, and as Peery arrived on the scene, the speaker shouted, "Peery has the bill." The angered crowd dropped Daniels and took after Peery, who made his escape. The story of his escape and the events that followed make an interesting chapter to early Oklahoma history. Peery did not have the bill in his possession. The bill never was "dropped in a cesspool." It was regularly passed by both houses, after which it was presented to the governor who vetoed it.

Another error in this story of capital location is the following: "Governor C. H. Haskell was always an advocate of Oklahoma City for the permanent location of the capital, but if certain citizens of Guthrie had not rubbed his fur the wrong way in a business and social way, he might not have precipitated the transfer when he did," and another paragraph: "Governor Haskell entered the fight openly on the side of Oklahoma City."

I cannot find anything that places Governor Haskell on record as having ever advocated Oklahoma City as the home of the permanent capital. I was one of his official family all of the time the capital fight was being waged, and I do not remember that he ever indicated that Oklahoma City was the proper place for it. He did recognize the fact that if the question was submitted to a vote, the chances were all in favor of Oklahoma City winning. The statement that he entered activily and openly into the fight for Oklahoma City is an error. The statement that the attitude of some of the citizens of Guthrie—not Guthrie as a whole—precipitated the fight that decided the question, is true.

As far back as during the constitutional convention Haskell stated that it was his opinion that congress had no right to bind the convention, or through the convention, the proposed state, by fixing the capital at Guthrie. He stated in his terse way almost the exact language of the court that decided that a sovereign state had a right to locate its capital.

Governor Haskell was too close to the public; sensed popular sentiment too well not to know that when the capital question was submitted Oklahoma City would be chosen. With that conclusion he brought about the submission of it. He had in his own mind planned to move the capital to Oklahoma City as soon as the results were known. Boldly, audaciously it might be said, he did this. Even Oklahoma City, that had coveted the capital since 1889, held its breath—even gasped. It got what it had wanted, and got it so precipitously that it was stunned about as badly as Guthrie was at its loss.

Another error that should not go by unnoticed is the following: "For Supply was first called Camp Supply. It was established in November, 1868 by General Custer in his campaign against the Indians."

General Custer was colonel of the Seventh Cavalry. He was under the command of General Sully who commanded the district in which Camp Supply was located. When a winter campaign was decided upon, it was a part of the plan to establish a supply depot in the Indian country as a base. Under General Sully's direction the site was chosen at the confluence of two streams, Beaver and Wolf Creeks. It was named Camp Supply. Custer was busily engaged in organization of his command and had nothing to do with locating Camp Supply.

Another that was well intended but misplaced is the following: "The one man who had most to do with opening of Oklahoma was General John N. Noble, of St. Louis, who was Harrison's secretary of the interior. His right hand bower was the attorney general in the cabinet, William Henry Harrison Miller, of Indianapolis. Through the men named from the departments of the interior and justice, Oklahoma was brought into existence, although no territorial form of government was possible for about a year."

These men played the same great part in the opening of old Oklahoma that a county sheriff holding office today had in the framing of the constitution. They appointed men to office and performed purely ministerial and legal duties.

The following is not a correction; not even criticism. Like the evolutionist's answer to the fundamentalist, it is merely an attempt to shed light where neither have any.

There was a pretty story in the special edition relative to the University yell, that rollicking, rhymthmic assault on sensatory nerves that inspires ambitious youth to deeds of daring: "Hi Rickety Whoop ti do, Boomer, Sooner, Okla U."

The story is to the effect that this yell was the inspiration of C. Ross Hume, and was based on Oklahoma history. It is explained that the word "hi" commemorates the hour of the opening—high noon. The second word, "rickety" is descriptive of the vehicles in the run. "Whoop ti do" refers to the character of the men. So we see, how fittingly and tritely C. Ross Hume chose his words for the famous yell.

The best of the story was not told. Hume's words bear more of the flavor of history than one would think from reading that story.

Many, many years ago, as the Indian tales begin, before the author of the famous yell was born, a lone cowpuncher was jogging along the prairie that skirts the South Canadian River; along the bend just south of where the state university now stands. He was looking to see if any cattle had bogged down in the shifting quicksands of that treacherous river. Not finding any trouble in that line, he turned the head of his cow pony northward. He wished to look at a bunch of cattle feeding where Norman now stands.

Stunted blackjacks fringed the prairie, and scars of red earth showed where gathering waters collected and washed their ways down to the river. He jogged along until, coming to a level stretch of prairie, he saw a pair of coyotes that had not gotten in from the night's scouting. He drew his sixshooter, and elevating it with regard for trajectory and distance, pulled the trigger. The bullet dropped within a few feet of the coyotes; being intent on watching the horse and rider, they jumped high in the air as the bullet struck, and "streaked" away to the timbered sand dunes. The cowpuncher rolled in his saddle and laughed. Out on those lone prairies men had to have some amusement; and that was his fun.

He started jogging along, again. He had not gone far when a jack rabbit jumped up a few rods in front of him. It hopped, skipped a half dozen steps lightly over the ground, and then sprang some ten feet or more, and skipped lightly again.

The cowpuncher yelled. He drove the long rowels into the pony's flanks; and the race began. "Yip, yip, yeee-e-e-ip, yippity yip! You son-of-a-gun! you 'ol' chain lightnin'!" He leaned forward in the saddle his sunburned face radiant with keen joy.

The jack rabbit wasn't skipping any now. His long ears were laid down on his back. He had drawn himself together; he seemed to be all legs; he bounded over the grassy prairie like a meteor shoots through the sky. The race didn't last long. Somehow, a jackrabbit never prolongs a race of that kind. He hasn't the same keen sense of fun that a cowpuncher has; but one who never has chased a jack rabbit never can appreciate the stimulating effect it produces on the cowpuncher, and the rabbit.

The race had taken this compuncher pretty well out on the prairie and he was nearing where the University now Stands. He was exhuberant and exultant. He had had two good laughs and one thrill. He gave vent to his joy by singing an old folk song, and did it with a resounding effect that caused Mother Meadow Lark to get off of her nest and peep out to see what was disturbing the elements; caused the cattle over on the other side of the rise to lift their heads from the ground and scan the horizon with a half frightened look.

Lustily he sang:

When I was young I was a reckless lad,
Lots o' fun with the gals I had;
I took one out each day fur a ride
An' I always had one by my side.
I'd hug 'em an' kiss 'em jest fur fun,
An' I've proposed to more' than one;
An' if there's a gal here got a kiss fur me,
She'll find me as young as I used to be.

The song and the words brought to his mind the days back in Old Tennessee; brought back to mind his old father who was a famous fiddler. How many times he had seen that father draw the tantalizing bow across vibrant strings, as pattering feet kept time to the swing and rhythm of the very song he was singing. He could hear the tall old mountaineer who called the sets; loud enough to be heard at adjoining farms; "Salute yo' pahdners! Right an' left! Ladies in th' center, four han's roun'! Balance all!"

As he rode across the stretch, which is now the University campus, he burst forth again; in the refrain of that old folk song:

> Hi rickety whoop ti do,
> How I love to sing to you;
> Oh, I could sing an' dance with glee
> If I wuz young as I us't to be.

Yes, the university yell is based on history—history of folk lore; of days that are fast passing away; the days when our fathers and mothers lived in primitive simplicity; with a freedom and liberty that was a glory all its own; that law ridden communities of today will never know; of days when throbbing music set feet a dancing in cabin homes; when hands clasped hands of a neighborhood; when hearts beat with other hearts; when the poorest child in the community was the object of every woman's solicitude; when birth was a community joy, and death a neighborhood grief.

However, our days have their compensations.

Another of those historical myths that came from somewhere, but like the unanswered interrogatory. "Who struck Billy Patterson," remains among those mysteries that was conceived by accident, and born in such obscurity that it left no record upon the annals of time; that long-drawn cry of many a hullabaloo; that has rent the midnight air—"O-o-o-h Joe! He-e-e-re's your mule!"

It was mentioned by several raconteurs of the days of '89. I have read in one history an attempt to locate its origin at Guthrie that first night; that a boomer had the misfortune to lose his mule, and his companion finding it, set the circumambient void resounding and reverberating with the cry that he had found the mule.

I remember when I was a small boy, I think in the year 1882; it may have been 1883, I attended a soldier's reunion. The country where I was reared was settled by soldiers of the Civil war. That reunion was a "whopper" to me. Born and reared on the prairies where our neighbors were few and far between, I learned that this old world had more people in it than I ever dreamed could be. There were long streets of tents; and such a boisterous, rollicking set of men I never had seen; in fact, probably never will see the like again. One of the outstanding remembrances of the occasion was of that lost mule. Used to looking for lost stock and searching for brands, it was delightfully funny to me to hear all through the night, that long-drawn wail, "O-o-o-o-h Joe! He-e-e-r-e's your mule!" I remember laying awake the the greater part of the night and laughing every time the weird wail broke upon the nocturnal silence.

My father did not attend the reunion. He said he saw enough in the nearly five years he had served during the war. He wanted us boys to see what was left of it, so he stayed home and cared for the ranch. When I returned, I told him everything I could remember, especially about the mule that had been lost and found.

"Hasn't Joe got that old mule yet?" he asked.

I was surprised. I asked if he had heard about it.

"Yes," he replied, "I used to think that the war was partly over that old mule. Any time we got around the teamsters of the wagon trains, we would be entertained all hours of the night by the fellows who had found that mule."

Then he became reminiscent. It was a great treat, for it was seldom that he did.

I remember once," he said, "when we were in front of Atlanta. Hood had been put in command of the confederates, and decided to fight outside of the trenches. He started around our army, and some of us were hurried away to get up to Old Pap Thomas at Nashville. I was then a staff officer, and was detailed to take charge of a wagon train. It was about the most strenuous job I ever got hold of. The Johnnys were pushing us, and for two or three days my train never was out of sight of them. In fact, I looked for them to come over any time and take charge; relieve me of further responsibility.

"One night we were camped on one side of a small river. The Johnnys were on the other. Our pickets were lined up on one side, and their's on the other. I thought, after the hard marching and nerve racking struggles of that day we would have peace and quiet; unless the Johnys decided to come over and get us; or we were ordered to go over and get them.

"Then a Johnny found that old mule and broke the solitude of the night. From across the river we heard the old familiar wail, 'O-o-o-o-oh Joe! He-e-e-ere's your mule.' Then a leather-lunged Yank bawled an echoing answer. I tried to locate him. I wanted to arrest him; to ram a blanket into his big mouth; but he was the most elusive and numerous man I ever heard. I never did see him. I ran the legs off of details trying to get hold of him, but when they got to one end of the camp he was at the other. After a while it got to be funny, and I called off the men. We were out before daylight the next morning and on our way; the last I ever heard of those Johnnys was that lown-drawn wail faintly echoing in the distance, 'O-o-o-o-h Joe! He-e-e-ere's your mule'!"

There you are. All the enthusiasm for my discovery of a good joke oozed away while my father was telling this tale. In later years I was shocked to learn from an old, old soldier of the Mexican war that the identical mule that Joe lost was a part of General Zachary Taylor's equipment; that he, too had heard the night's silence broken by the intelligence that the mule had been found.

But it remained for a reporter on the Daily Oklahoman to dig up from the sources of original history that it was in Egypt the mule was lost; that when Joseph sent his brethren home laden with food and presents, one of his jackasses followed the herd of his brothers. Having just had some experience with the cup that accidentally got in Benjamin's sack, they were leary of carrying off any more than the inventory checked out by Joseph's shipping clerks. When it was noticed that the ass was following the procession one of the boys called out "Oh, Joe, here's your mule."

Since that time, it is solemnly asserverated by this resurrector of history, that mule has been missing; generations, and ages of generations, have found him quietly grazing in numerously scattered precincts; have announced the fact in stentorian tones; during the silence of the night when men were most inclined to be careless about lost mules. Future generations might hear the joyful intelligence, were it not that the automobile has run over the mule; and soon such an announcement would raise the question, "Dear me, what is a mule?"

—*Paul Nesbit.*

QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

MAY 5, 1925.

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in regular quartely session at 1:30 p. m., Tuesday, May 5, 1925, with the following members present: Jasper Sipes (president), Thomas H. Doyle and Paul Nesbitt (vice presidents), Mrs. John R. Williams, Col. R. A. Sneed, Hon. D. W. Peery and Judge Baxter Taylor (directors) and the secretary.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The following standing committee appointments by the president were announced and, on motion, approved:

Additional Members of the Executive Committee, C. W. Turner and Phil D. Brewer.

Publications: Paul Nesbitt, Grant Foreman, Mrs. Emma Estill, Phil D. Brewer and the Secretary.

Library and Museum: Dr. J. S. Buchanan, Mrs. Frank Korn, Mrs. J. R. Frazier, and Mrs. Eugene B. Lawson.

Program Committee: Grant Foreman, Miss Margaret J. Mitchell, Judge Thomas H. Doyle and the Secretary.

Membership Committee: Mrs. John R. Williams, Mrs. Czarina C. Conlan, Mrs. Frank Lucas, and Mrs. W. A. Roblin.

The following special committees were appointed:

Building: J. W. Kayser, Judge R. L. Williams, D. W. Peery, Thomas H. Doyle and A. N. Leecraft.

Indian Portraits: Judge R. L. Williams, Phil D. Brewer, W. A. Durant, Louis Leflore, Mrs. Czarina C. Conlan and Mrs. Jessie R. Moore.

Marking Historical Spots: Col. R. A. Sneed, Charles F. Colcord, Baxter Taylor, Charles F. Barrett, Roy M. Johnson and Wm. P. Thompson.

The report of the secretary was read and, on motion, was received and ordered to be filed.

The financial report covering the period from July 1, 1924 to April 30, 1925, was read and, on motion, was received and ordered to be filed.

The following new members were elected:

Life Members—Mrs. Mary B. McAlester, McAlester, S. J. Soldani, Ponca City, C. E. Morgan, Holdenville and Lewis C. Lawson, Holdenville.

Annual Members—Mrs. A. T. Alcorn, Muskogee; Harry W. Broadbent, Sulphur; Fred A. Bean, Ponca City; Miss Fannie A. Baker, Tahlequah; Mrs. Helen D. Boyden, McAlester; Mrs. Frank M. Blackwell, Heavener; J. H. Cruthis, Talihina; Mrs. James Dyer, Broken Bow; Mrs. Cora D. Echerd, Healdton; Mrs. M. H. Feader, Muskogee; J. E. Freeman, Poteau; Mrs. C. L. Goodale, Tulsa; Mrs. John J. Gerlach, Woodward; Charles N. Gould, Oklahoma City; Miss Jane Patten Hall, Vinita; George B. Hall, Ashland; Mrs. Mabel Heald, Healdton; Miss Vera C. James, Big Canyon; Mrs. M. Joseph, Picher; James A. Jones, Oklahoma City; Dr. Elmer E. Kirkpatrick, Oklahoma City; Miss Gazelle Lane, Claremore; Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsey, Tulsa; Dr. Wm. B. Morrison, Durant; Rev. William Meyer, Tecumseh; Edgar A. Moore, Spiro; Lyman A. Moore, Spiro; A. H. Murchison, Muskogee; James J. Moore, Strong City; Miss Daisy Nichols, Ardmore; Prentice Price, Jr., Oklahoma City; Harry C. Robertson, Enid; Guy M. Rankin, Edmond; Hamlin W. Sawyer, Enid; Miss Margaret Stinson, Oklahoma City; Frank H. Tibbetts, Spiro; Fenton Wheeler, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Eva E. Warner, Vinita; E. E. Westervelt, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Elizabeth Ward, Wilburton; and C. L. Willis, Hartshorne.

Corresponding (annual) H. Heffner, Leeper, Pennsylvania.

Corresponding (for life) Mrs. Virginia Sutton, Los Angeles, California, and Wiley Britton, Kansas City, Kansas.

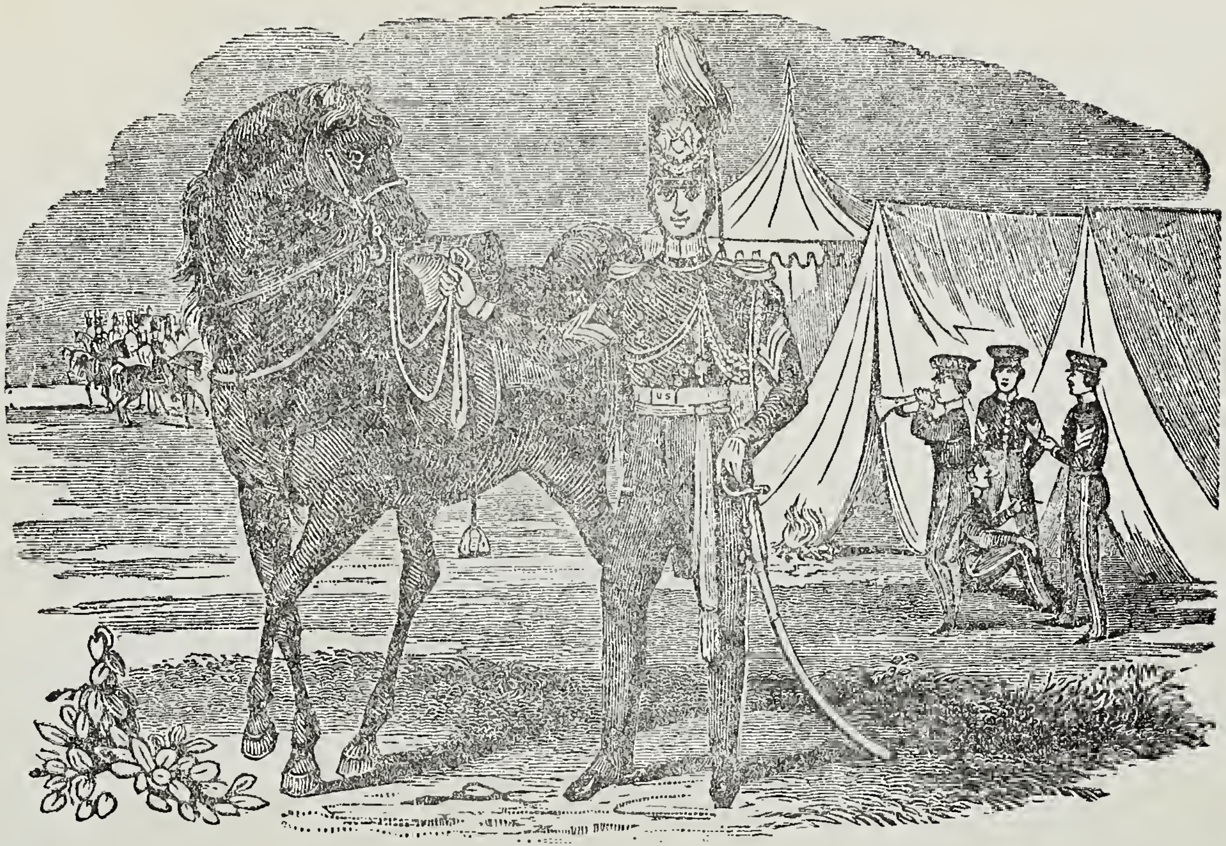
The several standing committees reported verbally, through their chairmen or other members.

The matter of the proposed archaeological excavation was approved and referred to the Executive Committee for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements, with full power to act.

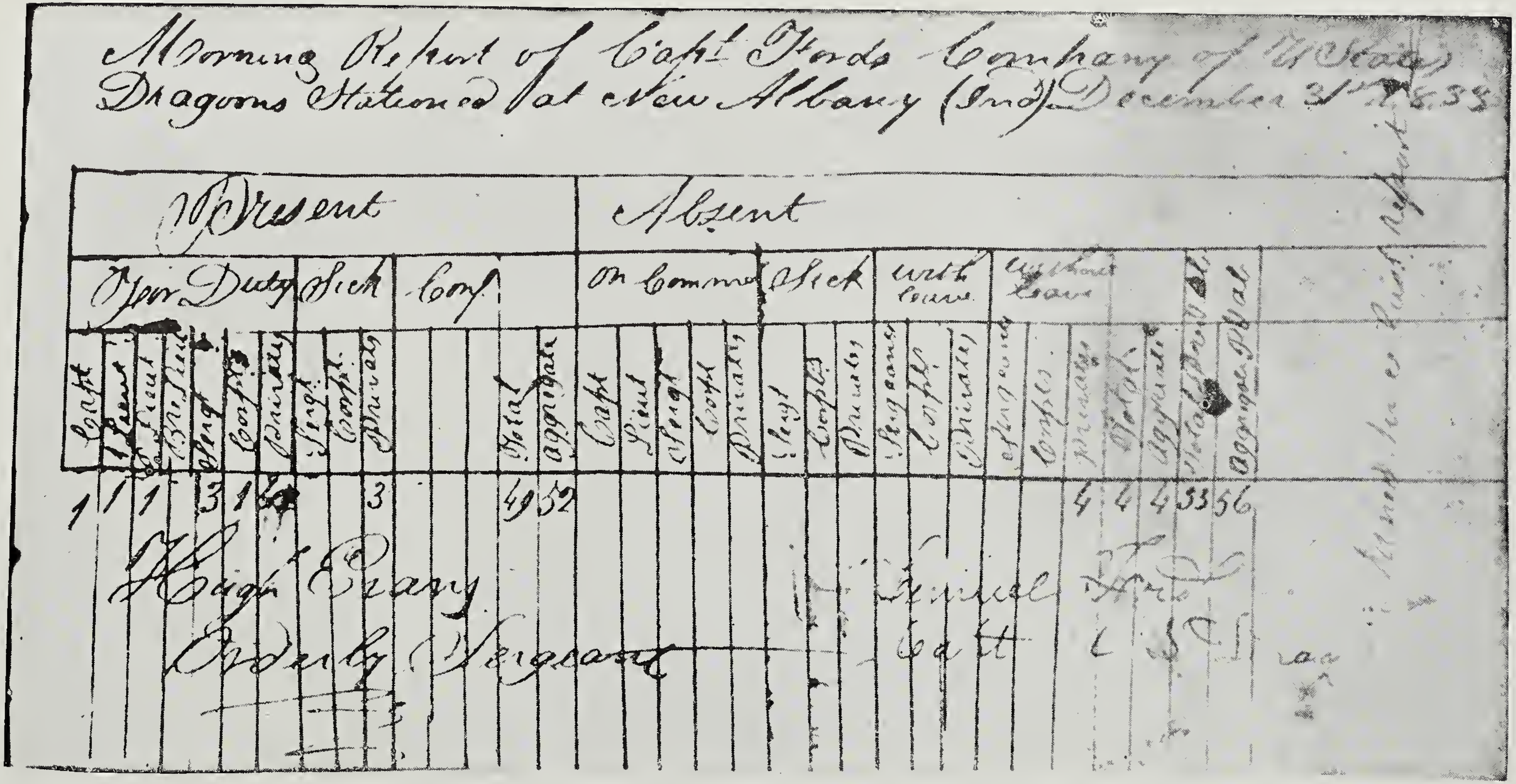
CONTRIBUTORS.

Morrison William Brown, college president, born at Lexington, Va., June 12, 1877; son of James Davidson and Laura (Chapin) M.; A. B. Washington and Lee University, 1897; D. Litt., Austin College, Sherman, Texas, 1917; married Christine Barton of New Orleans, La., Dec. 25, 1902; teacher Latin, Rockville (Md.) Academy 1897-1900; principal high school, Beaumont, Texas, 1902; teacher Latin, Durant, (Okla) College, 1902-4; principal Williamson (W. Va.) Presbyterian Academy, 1904-7; president Oklahoma Presbyterian College for Girls, Durant, Okla., 1910-20, also associate professor history Southeastern State Teachers College since 1922. Trustee Austin College, member of Oklahoma Advisory Committee of Education, Presbyteian Church in U. S. Member Classical Association, Middle West and South. His home is at Durant, Okla.

Jesse J. Dunn was born in Channahon, Ill., October 2, 1867. He was educated in the public schools of his native state and in the Illinois State Normal School, later taking a course in a business college at Garden City, Kans., and graduated from the law school of the University of Kansas in 1893. He served as county attorney of Woods County, Oklahoma Territory, from 1897 to 1901. In 1904 he was chosen chairman of the democratic territorial committee and advanced to the chairmanship of the democratic state committee in 1906, in which capacity he directed the campaign for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention and wrote the platform on which the contest of that campaign was waged. He was elected an Associate Justice of the state supreme court in 1907 and continued to serve as a member of that tribunal until his resignation in 1913. Since his retirement from the bench Judge Dunn has been practicing his profession at Oakland, Calif.



A SEBGEANT-MAJOR, A SERGEANT, A CORPORAL, A BUGLAR AND A PRIVATE OF DRAGOONS
(From "Recollections of Service in the United States Army, as a Dragoon," Published in 1845)



Morning Report of Capt. Fords Company of U States Dragoons Stationed at New Albany (Ind.) December 31st 1833

Present															Absent																	
For Duty							Sick			Conf.					On Command					Sick			with Leave			without Leave						
Capt	1 Lieut	2 Lieut	Bt 2 Lieut	Sergt	Corpls	Privates	Sergt	Corpl	Privates				Total	Aggregate	Capt	Lieut	Sergt	Corpl	Privates	Sergt	Corpls	Privates	Sergeants	Corpls	Privates	Sergeants	Corpls	Privates	Total	Aggregate	Total Pres & Abs	Aggregate Total
1	1	1		3	1	[illegible]			3				49	52														4	4	4	53	56

Hugh Evans
Orderly Sergeant

Lemuel Ford
Capt U S D

[illegible]

A MORNING REPORT, SIGNED BY CAPTAIN FORD AND SERGEANT EVANS

Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume III September, 1925 Number 3

THE JOURNAL OF HUGH EVANS, COVERING THE FIRST AND SECOND CAMPAIGNS OF THE UNITED STATES DRAGOON REGIMENT IN 1834 AND 1835.

Transcribed From the Original and Edited
BY
FRED S. PERRINE
With Additional Notes
BY
GRANT FOREMAN

CAMPAIGN OF 1834

FOREWORD

Hugh Evans was a Sergeant, Company G, United States Dragoon Regiment. The Journal here presented is well written in ink in a book four inches wide, eight inches long and three-fourths of an inch thick, bound at the end, and written across the narrow page. The cover and fly leaves are missing.

The first twenty-two pages have the morning reports and roll call of the Company beginning Dec. 18, 1833, and ending with the report of January 8, 1834. The first morning report is headed;—

"Morning Report of Captain Ford's Company U. S. Dragoons, stationed at New Albany, Indiana, Dec, 18, 1833" and is signed,—

Sergeant A. N. Mills,
Acting Ord. Sergt.

B. A. Terrett
2nd Lt U. S. Dragoons.

The next report dated Dec. 20, 1833, is signed,—

A. N. Mills,
Acting Ord. Sergt.

T. B. Wheelock
1st Lt U. S. Dragoons.

The report dated Dec. 21, 1833, is signed,—

Samuel J. Duncan
Act. Ord. Sergt.

T. B. Weelock
1st Lt U. S. Dragoons.

as are the reports of Dec. 22-23-24, 1833.

The report of Christmas Day Dec. 25, 1833 is signed,—

H. Evans
Act. Ord. Sergt.

T. B. Weelock
1st Lt U. S. Dragoons.

The report of Dec. 26, 1833, is signed,—

Hugh Evans
Act. Ord. Sergt.

B. A. Terrett
2nd Lt U. S. Dragoons.

as is also the report of Dec. 27, 1833.

On the 28th and 29th Sergeant Evans and 1st Lieut. T. B. Wheelock signed the report, on the 30th, Sergeant Evans and 2d Lieut. B. A. Terrett, and on December 31, 1833, the report is signed by Sergeant Evans, and for the first and only time by Capt. Lemuel Ford.

January 1st, 1834, report was signed by Sergeant Evans and 2d Lt. B. A. Terrett, and on the 2d, by Sergt. A. N. Mills and 1st Lt. T. B. Wheelock.

This last report reads,—

> "Morning Report of detatchment of U. S. Recruits commanded by Lt. Wheelock, U. S. Dragoons on S. Boat Messenger."

The reports of Jany. 3d to 7th inclusive were signed by the same parties, as was also the report of Jany. 8, 1834, which however was headed,—

> "Morning Report of Detatchment of U. S. Recruits Commanded by Lt. Wheelock, encamped in Illinois."

On the reverse side of the sheets on which these reports are written, is a list of men absent, on leave, etc. etc. This list shows that Captain Ford and Sergeant Evans were absent from their company nearly all the time in question, undoubtedly on recruiting service. Then comes several pages showing police and kitchen details for this same period.

Sergeant Evans states at the beginning of his Journal, that he was on recruiting service till March 20, 1834, and undoubtedly Captain Ford was also detailed on the same service.

The Journal of Sergt. Hugh Evans, covers the summer campign of the U. S. Dragoons, with the exception of Company A, in 1834. There are two contemporary accounts of this campaign of which the editor has knowledge. One of which was the official report of Lieut. T. B. Wheelock, dated Fort Gibson, August 27, 1834, which is published in "Message from the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the second session of the twenty-third Congress," dated Dec. 2, 1834. This report will be used by the editor, and notes from the same will be marked "T. B. W."

The other account is contained in "Dragoon Campaign to the Rocky Mountains, etc.," by a Dragoon (James Hildreth), published by Wiley & Long, New York, 1836. This account however only covers the campaign of 1834, which did not reach the Rocky Mountains, but only extended across the present state of Oklahoma.

It is curious to note that Captain Ford is not mentioned in any way in Wheelock's report, and not at all by Evans, after the statement on the first page of his Journal, until after the arrival of the Regiment from its arduous campaign, in present Oklahoma. After returning to Fort Gibson, Evans states on page 94 of the Journal,—"Capt. Ford is sick."

This Journal also covers the campaign of 1835, up the Platte River to the Rocky Mountains, and down the Arkansas, under the command of Col. Henry Dodge. The Journal ends abruptly under date of August 19, 1835, in the middle of a sentence.

On the last few leaves of the book in which the Journal is written, is the following;—

"Names of men died in G Company, U. S. Dragoons, time and place they died &c.

Priv. Bell at Jefferson Barracks Apr 1834 enlisted at Bloomington Ia—A. I. M. Patterson on the march from Jefferson Barracks to Fort Gibson in May 1834.

Priv Brim DO Do Do Do

Charles Gatliff at Fayetteville A. T. on said march May 1834.

John McLaughlin at Camp Cannadian on the summers campaign June 1834.

George B Alexander at Fort Gibson after our return from the Pawnee village Sept 1834

Johoikim Van Volkingburgh also at Camp Cannadian on our return from the summers campaign August 1834.

James Pratt at Fort Gibson after our return Sept 1834 also Henry Thompson, same

Pt. Irwin at Fort Gibson after we left Fort Gibson for Fort Leavenworth Sept 1834

Jeremiah Seitz Morgan

Samuel Sheard at Fort Gibson Sept 1834

Sergt H. I. Ball at Fort Gibson 1834—

Priv William Daily Nov 1834

" Latham

Capt. Vallandingham

Priv McCuchan & Terhune at Fort Towson last July—

"Names of the discharged from G C—U. S. Dragoons—

John Thompson Sergt at Fort Gibson June 1834

Moses Fleming Private same place same time

Matthew Perry Private Do Do Do Do

Dr. John F Fitzgerald at Fort Leavenworth Dec 20 1834

Thomas N Loyd same time same place

Stephen D. Mullowney Ft Leavth 1834

"Names of those deserted from G Company U. S. Dragoons

I. W. Lyon New Albany Ind Jany 1834

A. N. Mills, Robert & John Freeman from Jefferson Barracks Feby 1834

John Hutchinson Do Apr 1834

Charles Daily, Phillip Hattaton Thomas Bobo, Miller, Clark—Apr 1834

Christopher Bench on the march from Jefferson Barracks at Fayetteville A Territory May 1834

Privates Douglass & W Evans from Fort Leavenworth Sept 1835 they were recruits)"

The Wheelock Report of the campaign of 1834, contains the names of many officers, who afterward became famous. Among these were the following:

Lieut. Col. S. W. Kearny, served in the War with Mexico;

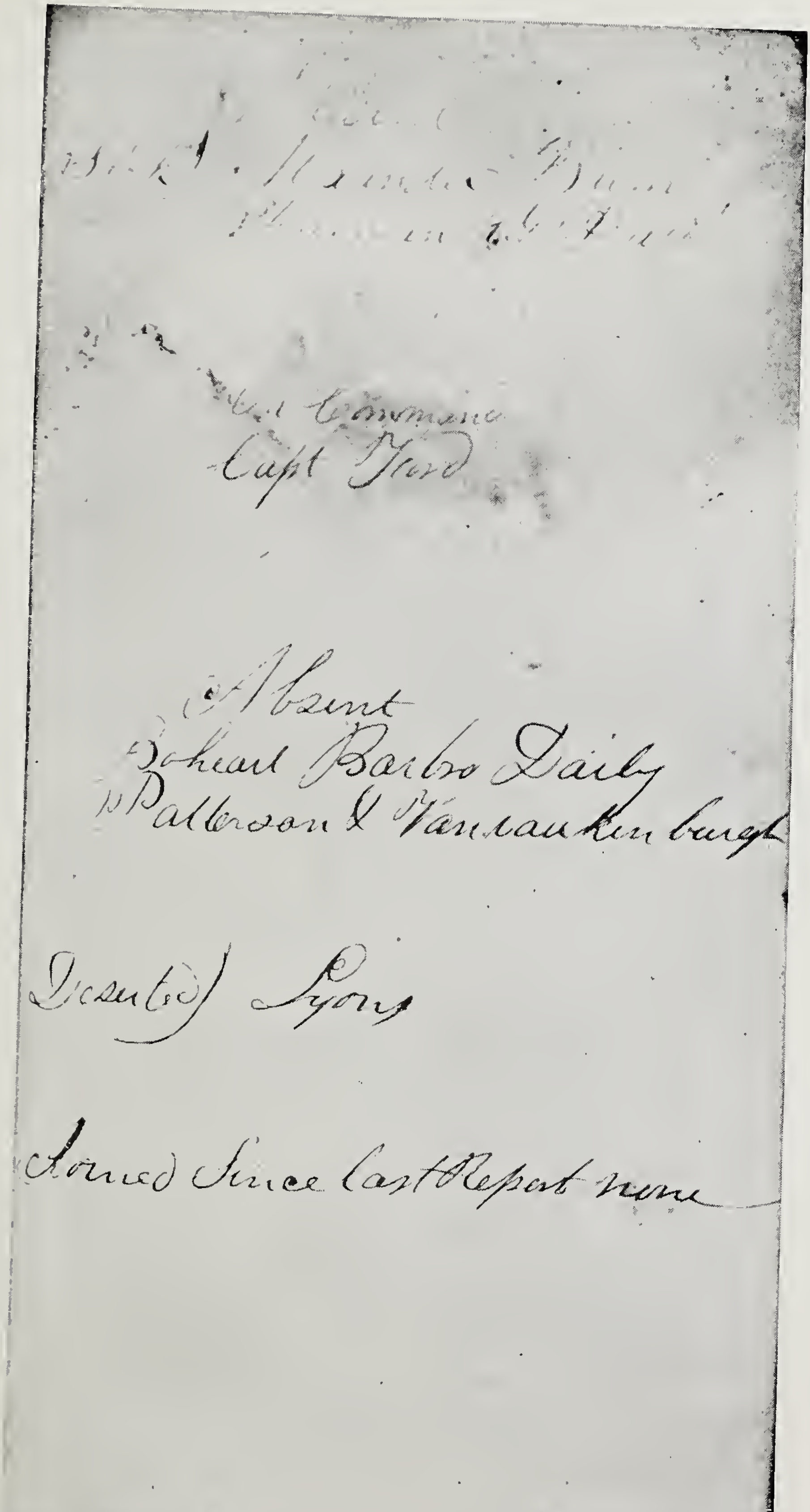
Lieut. Jefferson Davis, later became Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Franklin Pierce, 1853-57, and President of the Confederate States of America 1861-65;

Lieut. Thomas Swords, served through the Mexican and Civil Wars;

Capt. E. V. Sumner, served through the Mexican and part of the Civil War;

Captain David Hunter, was in the service during the Mexican War, and served through the Civil War;

Lieut. Enoch Steen, and Capt. Lemuel Ford served through the Mexican War;



[illegible]

[illegible] Commana

Capt Ward

Absent

Sohiant Barbo Daily

Patterson & Vansaukenburgh

Deserted Lyons

Joined Since last Report none

FIRST PAGE OF SERGEANT EVANS' JOURNAL

Lieut. P. St. G. Cooke, served through the Mexican and Civil Wars;

Captain Nathan Boone, the youngest son of Daniel Boone, was in the service during the Mexican War;

Lieut. L. B. Northrop, was in the service during the Mexican War, and was Colonel and Commissary General, C. S. A., 1861-65;

Capt. Eustace Trenor, was in the service during the Mexican War.

The Journal is paged up to and including page 94, after which no pagination occurs.

There is one queer incident regarding this Journal which the editor cannot solve, viz., the speeches of Colonel Dodge, and the Indians, while in council, are nearly verbatim with Lieutenant Wheelock's official report, and show that either Sergeant Evans had access to Lieutenant Wheelock's original manuscript report, or that Lieutenant Wheelock obtained his report from Sergeant Evans. Speech after speech are exactly the same.

The editor has copied this Journal exactly as written. Like other journals of the period little attention was paid to capitalization or punctuation. In re-writing, sentences which show no break in the original, have been spaced to make easier reading. All words or sentences enclosed in brackets are inserted by the editor.

The original Journal was loaned to Mr. Geo. H. Himes, curator of the Oregon Historical Society, in whose possession it now is, by Miss Amanda Evans, of Portland, Ore., a niece of Hugh Evans.

I can see no reason for the sudden termination of the Journal on August 19, 1835, as Evans finished the campaign of this year. He was drowned in the Missouri River, August 8, 1836. (See note by Mr. Foreman.)

The editor is under many obligations to Mr. Geo. H. Himes, curator, and Miss Nellie B. Pipes, assistant secretary, of the Oregon Historical Society, also to Miss Stella M. Drumm, secretary of the Missouri Historical Society, for much help and information, which is herewith thankfully acknowledged.

The information relative to the records of the Army officers in the command is taken from Heitman, and the information regarding Captain Gantt, is in part from Bancroft's History of California. The notes relative to the line of march, and other interesting data, have been made by Mr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Okla., who is an authority on this subject, and are initialed by him. The editor is also under many obligations to Mr. Foreman, and heartily acknowledges the same.

From information lately received, it is safe to assume that Hugh Evans was the personal orderly of Col. Henry Dodge.

Fred S. Perrine.

Hugh Evans[1] Enlisted in the Dragoon[2] service on the 16 of October 1833 to serve three years remained until the 20 of March following at Charlestown & New Albany Ia [Indiana] on the recruiting service, when I left New Albany in company with Capt. Ford[3] for Jefferson Barracks where we arived the 24 of the same month on board the steam boat Messenger Remained at Jefferson Barks until the 8 of May drilling two hours every forenoon in the light infantry drill and one hour in the afternoon on horseback—also attending to many other duties which kept us verry busy— preperations were making daily for our march to Fort Gibson[4], five Companies of Dragoons are already here. C°. F. G. H. I. & K (2) On the 4th of April we were paid off and on the 8th[5] we left Jefferson Barracks for Fort Gibson under the command of Lieut. Wheelock.[6]. After a march of about 500 [300] miles in 18 Days through various sorts of Country we arrived at Fort Gibson Our travels from Jefferson Barracks to Fork Gibson is of considerable note the country through which we came, partly through the interior of Missourie and partly through Arkansas Territory the land generally of the most indifferent kind some pararie also some high oak woodland of a verry inferior quality of soil (3) The situation of the encampment was near Fort Gibson where we arrived on the 26 of May We remained at Ft Gibson until the Regt was organized on the 17 of June when we left Camp Jackson for False Washita (Camp Jackson is about one mile from Ft Gibson imediately in a grove of timber in the edge of a beautiful parairie where the Dragoons were encamped until the Regt was organized).[7] Then we were ordered on our summers campaign[8] to proceed imediately to the False Washita Accordingly on the 19 of June we left an encampment on the South side of the Arkansas River The Regt. crossed the Arkansas at the Junction of Arkansas Verdigris & Grand Rivers & proceed on for the False Washita The Country through which we traveled Displayed a variety of scenery (4) When on one side we could look and behold as far as the naked eye could Disern one continual large expanse of Pararie with occtional [occasional] groves of timer [timber] serounded by beautiful hills and elavations rendering the seanery a fair picturesque of Beauty. On the other side skirts of timber with Deer Bear and other wild animals bounding their way through. We would frequently come to large tracts of Woodland for miles covered with scruby white oak timber and some undergroth The only stream of consequence we crossed until we came to the Red Fork of the

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[1] Hugh Evans was born in 1811, in Clark County, Indiana, and, on October 16, 1833, he enlisted for three years in the First Regiment U. S. Dragoons and was assigned to Company G. On his enlistment he was appointed sergeant and served as such until September 28, 1835 when he was reduced to private. In the summer of 1836 Evans's company left Fort Leavenworth on a mission to the vicinity of Fort Gibson and on their return, on August 8, 1836, Evans was drowned in the Missouri River. (G. F.)

[2] U. S. Dragoon Regiment, organized under act of Mch. 2, 1833, became the First Regiment of Dragoons on the organization of an additional regiment by the Act of May 23, 1836, and was changed to the 1st Cavalry by the Act of Aug. 3, 1861.

[3] Lemuel Ford. Va. Va. Capt. Mtd. Rangers 16 June 1832—Capt. Drag. Regt., 15 Aug 1833—Resigned 31 July 1837— Capt. Inf. 2 Mar 1847— 3rd Dragoons 9 Apr 1847— Brvt Maj. for gallant and meritorious conduct in affairs at Atlixco Mex— Honorably mustered out 31 July 1848—

[4] Fort Gibson. established April 1824, by Col. Matthew Arbuckle of the 7th Inf.

[5] Here Evans has his dates mixed. They left Jefferson Barracks on May 8, 1834.

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[6] Thompson B. Wheelock. Mass. Mass. Entered West Point 24 Sept 1818— Grad 10th in his class—Brvt 2nd Lt and 2nd Lt in 4th Art 1 July 1822— Trans to 3rd Art 18 Feby 1823— Trans 2nd Art 22 July 1826—Resd 30 June 1829—1st Lt Drag Regt 19 Spt 1833— Died 16 June 1836.

[7] 3 miles. T. B. W.

[8] The expedition described by Evans was under the immediate command of General Henry Leavenworth, who arrived at Forth Gibson in April 1834. It was planned to proceed to the villages of the Comanche, Kiowa and Wichita Indians to induce representatives of those tribes to return to Fort Gibson for a conference with a view to the acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the United States over their country and to establish peace between them and the emigrant Indians the government was then removing from the East. The command was also ordered to procure the release of two prisoners recently taken by the western Indians, one, Matthew Wright Martin, and the other, George B. Abbay. (G. F.)

Cannadian was the north fork, we crossed this stream at its falls— on both sides of which there are some Indian and white settlements[9]. We encamped on tthe night of the 21st of June about one mile south of the said river on the edge of a Pararie On the 22nd we continued our march through a country of a similar nature (5) only enclined to be more hilly and water scarce. The whole march from the Arkansas River to the South Fork of the Cannadian is varigated with some woodland and large Bounderies of Pararies—

Consider our situation at this time we were about 500 strong with a number of wagons Our chance for water must a have been extremely bad unless it was verry plenty which was not the case We would travel whole days at a time without coming to any water at all what we came to occationally was of the worst kind the top covered over with green slime when sturd up was perfectly muddy and unfit for the use of man or horse These days were incesently warm in traveling through these Pararies when the sun was pouring down with all his scourching rays upon us—(6) In this manner we traveled on until we came to the South Fork of the Cannadian River. This River is worthy of notice from many singular incidents about it The whole Bed of the River is about one quarter of a mile wide and is perfectly Dry only about 20 or 30 yards on one side where there is any water and that of a perfect Copper Colour, this water runs near the south side of the river and the Dry Beach on the opposite side is of a miry & quaggy nature a horse if he stands more than a minute will perhaps mire the water was low we crossed over with verry little Difficulty the Bottom was litterally covered with young cottonwood for upwards of (7) a half a mile. On the east side there is a fort commenced a Co. of the 7th Infantry are already here encamped building this fort.[10] We came about one mile on the South side of this river and encamd on the night of the 25 of June 34

On the 26 we resumed our march through a similar country as before the soil somewhat sandy with some beau-

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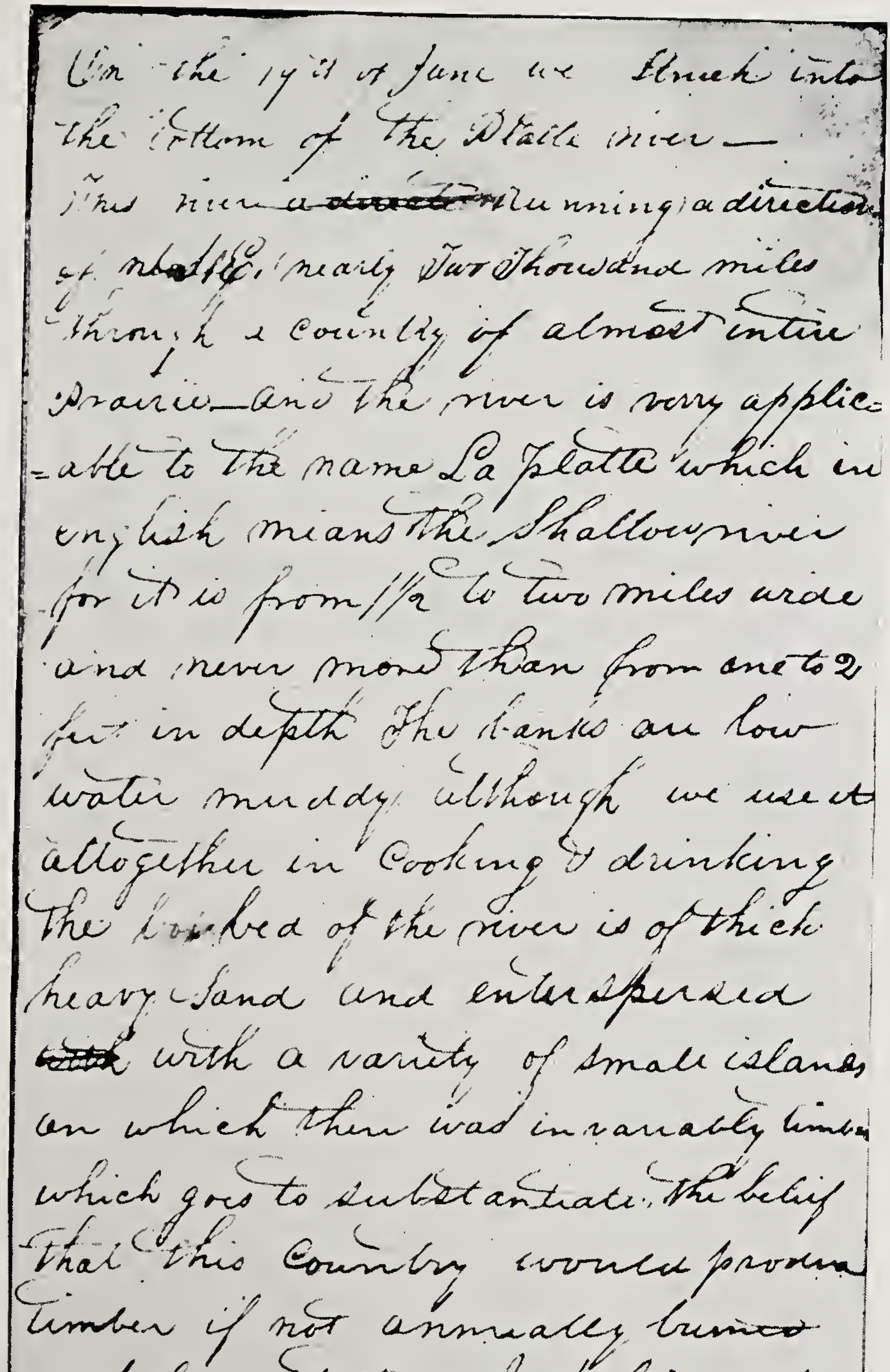
[9] They crossed the North Fork of the Canadian approximately at the site of the present town of Eufaula, Oklahoma. (G. F.)

[10] They crossed the Canadian just below the mouth of Little River six or eight miles southeast of where is now Holdenville. The fort that was then being built was constructed under the direction of Lieutenant T. H. Holmes and was subsequently called Camp Holmes. (G. F.)



On the 17th of June we struck into the bottom of the Platte river — This river ~~a direct~~ Running a direction of [illegible] E. nearly Two Thousand miles through a country of almost entire Prairie — and the river is very applicable to the name La platte which in english means the Shallow river for it is from 1½ to two miles wide and never more than from one to 2 feet in depth The banks are low water muddy although we use it altogether in Cooking & drinking The bed of the river is of thick heavy sand and interspersed ~~with~~ with a variety of small islands on which there was invariably timber which goes to substantiate the belief that this Country would produce timber if not annually burned as before Stated — In passing up this stream we would frequently have to swim to those Islands in order to get wood for our

A PAGE FROM SERGEANT EVANS' JOURNAL

tiful fertile Bottoms when we struck into a high white oak ridge over which we traveled for some miles this ridge was covered with scrubby white oak timber; at leanth we arivd in the Pararie of a rather inferior quality in which Pararie we passed an Osage Indian Encampment[11] there were Indians of all sizes ages and sex to the avarage [aggregate] number of about 500 these were a hunting Party some of whom were going (8) to accompany us to the pawnee village under the command of a Frenchman by the name of Beat. [Beatte][12] These Indians are at hostilities with the Pawnees and when they venture on this large tract of hunting ground they have to go in great numbers in order to avoid a surprise and Defeat from their enemies the Pawnees We also had one Pawnee & one Kiawa woman prisioners whom we purchased from the Osages sometime since These prisioners we are taking to their native land in order to make an exchange for a ranger of Capt Boons Company who was taken prisoner on the last summer campaign

On the 27th we renewed our march[13] nothing of importance occurd only we met in our way with some high romantic Pararies also some beautiful level (9) glades where we could look and behold the game or any other object that might occationally intercept our passage On the 1st of July we arrivd at or near the False Washita river near the confluence of the Washita river with the red River here is also a fort building by a company of the 3d Infry from Fort Towson we remained at this camp about 24 hours when we were ordered to cross the Washita river, Accordingly on the 2d of July we crossed the river with some dfficulty having to swim our horses and ferry our baggage across on rafts[14] we marched about one mile to the most illegible [eligible] position for Water and rang [range] halted and encamped; (leaving our sick at Camp Washita of which we were greatly incumbered) for the purpose of recruiting ourselves and horses.[15] We remained here without any important ocurance (10) until the ever memorial [memorable] 4th of July that great day of American Jubilee which day is gloriously celebrated as the day of American Independence as the cause that brought light and libirty to the New World; how many Thousand are enjoying themselves in all the magnficience and grandier feasting on all the luxurous productions of the Earth without the least feeling compassion for those travelers in the forest, ya; perhaps never thinking there are such beings in existance as the young hardy and enterprising Dragoons who have been exposed to all the pelting inclemincies of a wild and uncovered abode. Whose sustainence of nature depends measureably upon the skillful man with his gun and amunition indeed this was the case for we were then living (11) on half the rations allowed by Government to a Soldier anticipating a long and Serious journy before us not knowing when we will get to winter quarters or how our stores of provisions were to be replenished I myself verry well recollect that I made my 4th of July dinner upon some venison soup without Bread

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[11] Approximately where Allen, Oklahoma, now is. Today they traveled thirty-two miles and passed the site of Stonewall. (G. F.)

[12] Beatte was a guide who accompanied Washington Irving two years before on the expedition described by him in his *Tour on the Prairie* (G. F.)

[13] This day they crossed Blue River and traveled twenty-three miles. After passing through Hughes County, the western part of Coal County, eastern part of Johnston County and the western part of Bryan County they arrived on July 1, at Washita River some eight or ten miles above the mouth. (G. F.)

[14] Hildreth states that "crossing the Washita we used a canvas boat covered with gum elastic belonging to Lt. Col. Kearny."

On the 6th of July we commenced our march we came about 10 miles principly through prairie[16] halted and encamped for the night When Genl. Leavenworth[17] came up to us ordered Col. Dodge[18] to take 200 of the most daring healthy and select men of his Corps to proceed immediately into the enemies Country[19] Accordingly on the 7th Col Dodge inspected us ordering us to leave everything that would have a tendincy to retard our (12) progress taking nothing with us but one change of shirts &c leaving a number sick with various diseases also our baggage wagons, a number of pack horses tents, &c, &c.

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[15] Here the Regiment was re-organized, and Hildreth states "leave 149 men on duty and 86 sick. Genl. Leavenworth also remains here."

[16] West 8 miles. T. B. W.

[17] Henry Leavenworth born Conn, apptd N. Y. Capt 25th Inf Apr 25 1812—Maj 9th Inf Aug 15 1813—trans 2nd Inf May 17 1815—Lt Col 5th Inf Feb 10 1818— trans 6th Inf Aug 1 1821— Col 3rd Inf Dec 16 1825— Bvtd Lt Col July 5 1814 for dis ser at battle of Chippewa U C— Col July 25 1814 for dis ser at Niagara Falls U C— and Brig Gen July 25 1824 for 10 yrs fai ser in one grade. Died July 21 1834.

[18] Henry Dodge born Ind apptd from Wis Capt Maj and Lt Col Mo Vols 1812 1815 Col Mich Vols Apr 15 to July 1 1832 Maj Mounted Rangers June 21 1832— Col Dragoon Regt Mar 4 1833—Resd July 4 1836—Died June 19 1867.

[19] General Leavenworth was too ill to proceed farther and he remained here where he died July 21. The location of his death is probably in the eastern part of Marshall County between Madill and Washita River. (G. F.)

On the 8th we mounted our horses commenced the line line of march filled up with anthusiasm and a appearant prospect of acquiring fame We moved off in solid column for about 6 miles when we halted and encamped for the night[20] here we beheld a large drove of Buffaloe at Some distance off We dispatched Some of our best hunters in order to bring some of those gentry to show cause why we should not eat them those hunters brought in their carcass plentifully to supply us in a bundance On the night of the 8 there was a (as our officers are pleased to call it) a Stump Pedo [stampede] (13) which caused great disturbance in our camp whether this uproar was caused by the running of Buffaloe or the near approach of Indians I am unable to say But certain it is that the consternation was so great that the men awoke in the deadly hour of night commenced hollowing to a Desperate rate so as to frighten the horses that they ran parcipately [precipitately] from our encampment and one instance I recollect verry well that a centernal [sentinel] on post discharged his peace as he thought at an Indian but to his mortification it proved to be a horse trying to make his escape from the fright was shot dead instantly on the spot many of our horses (14) made their escape and it occupied the greater part of the next day to collect them together again. Owing to this Alarm in camp we remained at this camp on the 9 in order to collect our horses,[21] On the 10 we resum^d^ our march. But here I must relate a circumstance that occured on the 9 while we were lying at this camp The Osage Indians we had with us were out on a Buffaloe hunt when they came across a calf they vigiously [vigorously] took in pursuit of it at a distan of perhaps a mile from us in the open plain, the chase was close and conducted with great rapidity winding round for some miles the calf running in to save his bacon the Indians with their usual perserverance in such circumstances pursued thier game until the calf finally overcome with fateigue surrendered himself a prisoner of war and those Indians brought him safe into camp and turned him over to Maj.

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[20] In camp. T. B. W.

[21] N. W. 14 miles. T. B. W.

Mason[22] who took care to secure him well The place of our Encampment was a picturesque one. the wide extensive plains surounding us on all sides with a small strem in our front lined with trees and undergrowth to an immense thickness the rising elevation on both sides to a considerable hight and then desending into a beautiful level as far as the eye could carry. Our encampment being situated on the side of one of these hills the sun with all his scorching rays (16) came pouring down upon us almost hot enough to have roasted an egg in the sand

About 8 Oclock on the 10 we were all under marching orders in the wide wilderness, no man knowing where or what was to be his future destination whether he was to leave his dead body a prey to the foracious wild animals of the forest his flesh to be torn from his body and his bones to lye bleeching in the wide and tractless desert. Whether utter starvation was to be his lot or to perish at the hands of the merciless savages Or in short what was the will of the dispenser of all good toward the handful of men in their present undertaking where they were going they knew not what was to be their fate they knew not But they calmly resigned themselves to their fate. (17) Every man looking forward with an eye single to one thought, the service the welfare and the prosperity of the Country and cause in which he had the honor to serve, weathering through the storm of every difficulty the Scorching rays and burning heats of a Torid Zone. through the wide and shadeless pararie. worn out with fateigue hunger thirst and exaustion in a warm and Sultry Climate. In this way we would persevere our march in this wild and tractless wilderness at the rate of from 15 to 25 miles per day[23]

On the 10th it rainded considerable We arrived at some high and romantic mounds occationally crossing some steep raveens the banks and sides of which were litterally covered with brush and undergrowth almost imposible for a horseman to get through but with some difficulty in getting over these high Rocky mountains (18) we came to a beautiful small pararie which was litterally covered with large herds of Buffalo Our Indian hunters that was with us killed one immediately in the road W came a few miles further halted and encamped on a sideling eminence when we sent out some hunters to kill Buffaloe which they brought in, in great abundance when each man fell to work cooking in order to satisfy our hungry appatiets after a fatieguing march Our general orders in camp are to hold ourselves in readiness to meet any attack or molestation that might be offered against us— On the 11 We commenced our march over some thick undergrowth or Bushy thickets which is commonly called the "cross timbers,"[24] with some steep riveens at leanth we struck into an open pararie which [was] covered with wild (19) and unmolested Buffaloes for miles in our front We marched about 20 miles today and encamped near a creek immediately in the edge of a beautiful grove of trees where we let our wearied horses graze at large in the open plain in our front. 12th of July We resumed our march at the usual hour about 8 Oclock through the thick Brushy timber almost impossible for man or beast to get through at leanth we made our way among these difficulties and came to into some beautiful Pararies Marched about 20 miles[25] halted and encamped in our usual form that of a hollow square.

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[22] Richard Barnes Mason, born in Va., appointed from Va., 2nd Lt 8th Inf Sept 2 1817—1st Lt Sept 25 1817—Capt July 31 1819—transferred to 3rd Inf June 1 1821—trans to 1st Inf Dec 14 1821—Maj. Drag R Mar 4, 1833— Lt Col July 4 1836— Col June 30 1846—Brev Maj July 31 1829 for 10 years faithful service in one grade and Brig Gen May 30 1848 for mer con. Died July 25, 1850.

[23] From July 7 to 16 the course of the expedition is northwest across Carter, and Stephens Counties until their arrival in the northeastern part of Comanche County about twelve miles north of the present Fort Sill. (G. F.)

our encampment was on a poor white oak ridge wher the orderly Sergeant of Company C was reduced to the ranks as a private Soldier. (20) 13th. We commenced our march over wide and beautiful pararies we could behold large numbers of wild horses at some distance from us. Our Indians caught a beautiful wild mare heavy with foal

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24. "The Cross Timbers vary in width from 5 to 30 miles and entirely cut off the communication betwixt the interior prairies and those of the great plains. They may be considered as the fringe of the great prairies, being a continuous brushy strip, composed of various kinds of under-growth; such as black-jacks, post-oaks, and in some places, hickory, elm, etc., intermixed with a very diminuitive dwarf oak, called by the hunters, shin-oak. Most of the timber appears to be kept small by the continual inroads of the burning prairies; for, being killed almost annually, it is constantly replaced by scions of undergrowth; so that it becomes more and more dense every reproduction. . . The undergrowth is so matted in many places with grape vines, green-briars, etc., as to form almost impenetrable roughs, which serve as hiding-places for wild beasts, as well as Indians, and would in savage warfare, prove almost as formidible as the hammocks of Florida."—Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies, Thwaites, R. G. *Early Western Travels,* vol xx, 255. (G. F.)

25. West 12 miles. T. B. W.

they also in their chase assert to have seen a number of Pawnees, who ran off entirely wild, and they could not get near enough to make any compremise with them we came today about 22 miles[26] generally over pararie and it is singular to notice that the small groves of timber runing through these pararies run a course nearly North & South

we halted encamped exausted and fatiegued in the most eligible position we could select—
July 14th 1834—

This morning we commenced our march as usual marched about one mile came into a wide and extensive pararie having a romantic eminence on the right (21) on the side of which we espied some Indians whom we suppose to be Pawnees[27] we were ordered to put ourselves in "readiness for an immediate attack" we filed to the right, came within some distance & halted. the white flag was sent out to them (which had been hoisted and carried by the flank guard for some time) they appeared at first unwilling to come to us but after some parleying and consultation among themselves there was a daring and resolut Spaniard (who had been taken prisoner by them when verry young and adopted their customs) approached us without fear, after some interogatories he told us they were Commches on a Buffalo and wild horse hunting Expedition. they appeared perfectly friendly and informed us their town was about two days ride from us also agreed to pilot us to their (22) towns, accordingly we set out nearly a due west[28] course in serch of thier village

Those Commanch Indians are the the most homely featured being verry large & corpulent in size not to [so] tall as the Osages but of a heavy square and inelegent perportion they kept with us this day and when we halted and encamped for the night, encamped near us. A verry interesting dialogue took place this evening between Col Dodge and this Spaniard in which he gave us some information respecting the rout we would probably take the distance to the Pawnee village their friendly intentions &c He told us that the

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[26] West by North 23 miles. T. B. W.

[27] When Evans speaks of Pawnees he is using the common term employed in those days to designate collectively the Pawnee Pique or Wichita, Comanche and Kiowa Indians. (G. F.)

[28] W 14 miles. T. B. W.

Pawnees had a negro man a prisioner also a small white boy. that the Commanchs wished to be friendly with the white folks if their neighbors the Pawnees were willing That they had never molested the whites it only was [with] the Osage they were at enmity that they would be verry glad to come on amicable terms with the whites July 15, 1834 We resumed our march wet and cold through high Elevated pararies in looking in our front we could see some verry high peaks and those whom we think have the best right to know tells us that the Pawnee Indians live on the other side of those peaks. we crossed over some verry deep raveens the banks of which was covered with thick undergrowth bramly briars &c after much difficulty and fatiegue we came into a highly romantic and Elevated pararie when we arrvd at the summit of which we could have a commanding view of all the sirounding country (24) as far as the eye could extend when we could look forward and have a beautiful sight of the Commanche village looking like a great meadow with the small cocks of hay scattered promiscuously over it when on the hight of this eminence the beauties in looking down on the valley was truely grand and romantic When we came in near those Indians village they came out on horse back to meet us with friendly appearances we halted and encamped near thier village[29] the [they] gathered around our encampment in great numbers admiring the many curriosities we had with us. Those Indians are large and corpulent not so tall and elegantly formed as the Osage Indians but much heavier and coarser featured than them. (25) The Spaniard we found among them when asked if the Pawnees had any Americans replied they had a negro man and a white boy but he could not inform us how long they had had them, They agreed to send a pilot with us to the Pawnee village accordingly on the 18th of July we were all under marching orders accompanied by a Pawnee Mohawk [Maha] Indian as a pilot our course nearly due west[30] we came about ten miles came to an excellent stream of water also a beautiful situation for an encampment (it being the first water fit for a horse to drink we had seen for days travel.) There we halted formed our encampment in the edge of a beautiful grove of timber with the cool lucid stream runing in rural silence along its favorite course never before perhaps had quenched the thirst of civilized man ready to answer the demands (26) of a weak fatiegued and exausted stranger. On the morning of the 19th Col Dodge made another selection leaving our sick (which by this time had increased to about 30) with about 30 men to guard them. Collecting the remainder giving them orders to put their arms and accoutrements in order for an expected attack; We accordingly mounted our horses commenced the line of march possessed with new ardor and zeal. Our whole force consisted of only about 180 effective men. immediately after leaving this Camp we surmounted a high rocky eminence where we could look down upon the low lands covered with grass and herbage directly in our front were some high Rocky mountains whose imence hight appeared to ascend almost to the lowering clouds covered with *huge ridges of Rocks* (27) we descended this hill came into a beautiful level valley about one mile wide, through this valley run a beautiful clear christol stream which stole in gentle silence its favourite course prehaps never before squench the thirst of civilized man while on both sides we behold the high romantick granites of rocks appearing like the workmanship of man has lent his aid in placing them together while along this creek there was places bearing strong resemblance to once cultivated farms. such as a few old scrubby locust trees some undergrowth with many other natural curiosities this days travel was verry interesting and our course nearly west 25[31] miles when we encamped by the edge of a small creek near a grove of timber where we hourly expect an attack from the enemy but the night passed off and we [were] unmolested by Indians although our horses are a great (28) annoyance to us by breaking loose runing off &c.—

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[29] NW 24 miles. T. B. W.

[30] W 7 miles. T. B. W.

July 20. Early this morning we were under marching orders through a country similar to that of yesterday only the vallies were much wider and more extensive our march today was frequently intercepted by high rocky hills also narrow and difficult passages over ravines This day we struck the waters of the red river which is pacularly situated runing through a rocky mountainous country the water of which is a pure copper couler so verry salty that we cannot use it in drinking or cooking the beach on both sides is covered with pure fine white salt. We also passed today several "dog towns" These animals are verry singular they form themselves into a body and throw up a hill on the surface of the earth about a foot high through which (29) they make holes runing diaginally in the ground of twelve or fifteen feet deep these intersecting each other something like a burrow for rabbits; here it is singular to remark that there are small owls that live in the hole with those dogs they are always sitting at the mouth of the hole— There will be acres at a place covered with these holes the dog is something larger than our commen ground squirrel— We marched today about 30 miles a little north of west[32] over a country almost incriditable to relate and as our horses were without shoes it was with difficulty we got along—

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[31] S. W. 23 miles T. B. W.

After we struck our encampment this evening we discried some Indians on horseback about a mile off Col Dodge sent some men to reganoiter and bring them to our camp if possible— Consequently (30) there was one Indian fellow brought in a prisoner who appeared verry much frightened but after having some assurance of our friendly Intention he appeared more composed Col Dodge presented him to our prisoners one of whom proved to be a relation of his after embracing each other in the most affectionate manner they set down and held a long conversation with each other Col Dodge at first determined to detain him as a prisoner least he should inform his party of our situation so they might better be prepared to make an attack but on a second consideration it was thought most advisable to let him go and inform his people of our friendly intentions by that means we might be able to get them to meet us in council therefore he left us probably better satisfied than he anticipated when he was taken. (31) This evening our hunters killed two deer which was verry exactly divided among the command this being our only resort for sustainance after dividing our scanty repast we retired to rest though not in a pleasent mode for sleep for we every moment expected an attack

July 21s Next morning we arose verry early and made preperations for a march to the village— There came to our camp this morning an old Indian who proved to be the father of the Kiawa girl we had along with us he informed us it was about five miles to their village. Accordingly we mounted our horses moved off in close order forming three columns About two miles from our Encampment we were met by large parties of Indians on horseback draped in their best warlike apparel. The colume was halted and (32) after shaking hands with them they marched on at the head of the command intirely friendly On comming near their village men women & children came out to meet us imploring Col Dodge not to fire on them. We all assured them of our friendly intentions but they appeared not to have confidence in us thier women & children runing and hiding themselves in the hills under rocks & other places of concealment-We marched through their village with all the military pomp and splendor the nature of our circumstances would admit We crossed over Red river assended the hill marched about two miles from their town halted remained about an hour mounted our horses came back through their village to the most favorable situation for an encampment immediately at the foot of a high granite of rock (33) The Indians led us on this way by informing us this was not the main town but that their principle village was over this hill which I believe was not the case It is the general opinion that those Indians led us this way in order to decoy us from their town This town is situated on the head of Red river their lodges are about four hundred in number they are made by placing smal poles in the ground coming to a point at the top covered over with thached grass; they are about sixty feet in circumferance warm and comfortable with a small hole at the top for the smoke to assend There is about twelve or fifteen persons to a lodge their village was surrounded by large paches of corn and (34) manny other garden vegetables common to a civilized people such as water mellons cucumbers Beans peas &c.—

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[32] W 37 miles. T. B. W.

Our encampment was on the river about a mile below the village at the foot of a high rocky mountain in a small grove of locust trees here we remained during the night not knowing what might be the determination of the Indians whether for peace or war Consequently Col Dodge put the encampment in the best order posible for defence expecting the Indians to attack us tonight. They gather around us in

great numbers admiring the many curiosities of the white people The Squaws bring in roasting ears mellons green pumpkins squashes &c which they trade to us for buttons tobacco strips off our cloths shirts and many other articles we had to dispose of (35 I have seen a good cotton shirt sell to squaws for two ears of corn however friendly those Indians appear to be it is uncertain about their hostile intentions; but the night passes of without disturbance—
July 22 This morning large numbers of the Indians came into our encampment shook hands in friendship and appeared verry much gratified to see us.— During this day a number of us visited their town. We were treated with distinguished marks of friendship and hospitality we were conducted into their lodges and mellons corn with some dried Buffaloe meat neatly served up and set before us; we were invited tc eat sumtiously which dish (although not verry clean) was verry thankfully received as we were on the brink of starvation having nothing to eat save what we got from those Indians (36)

They all appeared remarkable for their friendship and kindness particularly the squaws who appeared to admire the appearance of the Dragoons verry much more particularly those who have large whiskers & heavey beards; They perhaps never before have seen the face of a white man The women and children gather around us in astonishment some of whom are verry pretty in some of the young squaws may be traced marks of female beauty modesty and virtue although in a rude state of nature having none of the refinements of civilized life— The women in general are exposed to all the hardships and drudgery common to their mode of living they have to cultivate their corn fields & do all the work of husbandry which laborious duty they perform without a murmur (37) The dress of the squaws consist of dressed skins girted around their waist coming a little below the knee with leggins to come up to the knee beautifully ornamented with beads porcupine quills &c also Moccasins. the upper part of the body intrily [entirely] naked the hair hanging gracefully down the back touching the ground The mens dress consists of nothing but a brich clout girted around the loins with leggins some with Buffaloe skins thrown carelessly over the shoulders, others smaller & younger intirely naked This day there came into our Camp a negro man who had been taken by the Commanches on the Arkansas river last spring he informed us that there was a white boy among those Indians who was taken last spring likewise (38) This negro informed us that after he was taken he came ten days with those Indians without anything to eat save some plumbs berries &c but since he had been living among them they had treated him well had given him corn mellons Buffaloe meat &c to eat—he appeared verry well satisfied with his situation [they] requireing of him nothing but to graze their horses. The principle wealth of those Indians consist of large droves of horses with which the prarie was literally covered some of their horses are verry fine eaqual to any that I have seen in the States. A blanket butcher knife & small piece of tobacco is equivelant to a horse in fact I have seen good ponies sold for a common bed blanket they being the most wanted Article with them—

(39) Col Dodge with the principle part of his officers returned to their village today in order to hold a council with them. On our arrival there we saw a small white boy On asking him his name he imphatically replied "Matthew Wright Martin"[33] he appeared a verry intelegent boy of about six or seven years old although he had been verry unwell a [and] appeared quite delicate he still had destinct recollection of his father[34] Mother and where they lived he states his Father himself and one or two servants came out on Red river on a hunting excrusion when the Indians came upon them in their camp and we are informed killed his father (although he says his father was not killed) and took him prisoner They gave him nothing to eat but some plumbs and wild berries (40) they gathered on their rout to this village we brought him into our camp he was admired verry much by the command. I gave him a small piece of hard cracker the only

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[33] Matthew Wright Martin was the nine year old son of Gabriel M. Martin who held the office of County Judge in Miller County, Arkansas, and lived at Pecan Point on Red River at the time when this section of Texas was claimed as part of Arkansas territory. Judge Martin and his little son, with several servants were camping in the spring of 1834 in what is now the eastern part of Marshall County east of the site of Madill, Oklahoma, and near Washita River where they were engaged in hunting. One day in May in the absence of the hunters the Kiowa Indians attacked the camp, killed Judge Martin and one of his slaves, scalped them and carried the little boy off to the Wichita Mountains. (G. F.)

[34] Gabriel N. Martin of Miller County, Arkansas.

bread I had remaining he excepted of it with great cheerfulness and become verry much attached to me in consequence

July 23 This day the Kiawa and Wacao Indians arivd Their village is near here they are a hardy bold and warlike people the women verry hansome they dress something like the Pawnees or Toash women Those Indians are allies & friends to the Pawnee picks neighbors in peace and friends in war The only material difference is the Towash men women & children prick themselves with indelable ink in stripes down their arms face in fact every member of the body is pricked in this manner (41) Large numbers of the Commanche arived today the old chief come riding on a verry fine horse he was a verry large man corpulent and muscular in appearance he inquired where our great Captain was and repaired thither immediately he imbraced Col Dodge and called him his great white brother. Every preparations necessary being made the following council was commenced and continued for three days. here I must remark that during the whole [time] the Indians behaved with as much respect and good order as could be expected from people of more refined manners—paying the greatest attention and appearing to retain everything they heard from their great white brother as they called Col. Dodge. (42)

The Council held at the Totash Village commenced 22d July 1835 [1834] Col Dodge met the chiefs & warriors of the Toyash tribe of Indians in council agreeably to previous notice-

Council being in order;-Col Dodge proceeded to speak as follows viz[35]

We are the first Americans, who have ever come to see the Pawnees; we meet you as friends, not as enemies;- to make peace with you—to shake hands with you.- The great American Captain is at peace with all the white men in the world, we have been sent here to view the country and to invite you to go to Washington where the great American chief lives to make a treaty with him, that you may learn how he wishes to send among you traders who will bring you guns & blankets and everything you want, The great American Captain wishes also to make peace between you and the Osages and the Cherokees Senacas Delawars (43) and Choctaws and all other red men that you may all meet together as friends and not shed each others blood as you have done- On our way to your village; we met a party of Commanches we showed to them a white flag which said to them "we wish to be friends" Their principle men were gone to hunt, we treated their old men women & children with kindness- we gave them presents- they had many horses we could have taken their horses from them- but did not; we showed to them that we wanted to be at peace with them;- they told us that you were their friends we were glad to hear of it- We have come to your town and found you as defenseless as the Commanchees we have treated you as we treated them- The American people show their kindness by actions not by words alone- We have been told that a white man was taken prisioner by you last Summer; that a white boy was made prisioner by you last Spring We have come now to require the boy at (44) your hands for we are told he is in your town. Give us the white boy" we will give you the Pawnee girl that we have brought with us; we wish all that has passed to be put behind us, to be forgotten; we wish to shake hands with you and be friends- You must now give me a positive and direct answer with regards to the white man who was taken last Summer and the white boy who was taken last Spring.

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[35] Here we call the attention of the reader to the fact that the speeches of Colonel Dodge and the different Indian Chiefs, in many cases are identically the same as they appeared in the later report of Lieutenant Wheelock, dated Fort Gibson, Aug. 27, 1834, and which was not published until 1835, in "Message from the President" dated Dec. 2, 1834. Either Orderly Sergeant Hugh Evans made the original verbatim notes of these speeches, or had access to the manuscript notes of Lieutenant Wheelock, which were afterward embodied in his Official Report submitted to Colonel Dodge, which was later re-submitted by Colonel Dodge to the War Department, and published as part of the Report of the Secretary of War.

The Chief We-ter-ra-shah-ro replied "I know nothing of the white man who you say was taken last Summer the white boy is here-

Col Dodge resumed " I wish the boy brought to me I will then give to you the Pawnee girl this act together with all the information you can give me concerning the man who was taken last Summer will be the best proof that you can give of your sincerity of your disposition to shake hands & be at peace with us. I cannot leave the country until we obtain possession of the boy and information respecting the

(45) man who was taken last summer his name was Abby[36] he was taken between Blue river and the Washita about this time last year.

Chief "I know nothing of it I believe it was the Commanches who took the man (on receiving some intelligence from one of his friends) I remmer [remember] now the Oways, who live South did it Col Dodge "Do the oways hunt on the grounds between the Blue & Washita rivers—

Chief "They hunt there; and I have heard that they took the man Abby and when they got near their camp they killed him

Col Dodge ''How far do the Oways live from here
Chief '"They follow the Buffaloe as the Commanches do; they have no town"

Here the accidental discharge of a pistol threw the whole council in a war like position; every heart palpitated every bow was strung in an instant; the chiefs and warriors flew to bows & arrows all for a moment was placed in a hostile attitude but fortunately the accident being explained (46) the council progressed friendly as before The white boy who had been sent for was brought in and presented to Col Dodge The boy was entirely naked about six or seven years of age his name was "Matthew Wright Martin a son of the late Judge Martin of Arkinsas Territory—

Chief, I am glad to shake hands with you with the red men you have brought with you the Osages Delewars & Cherokees— The principle chief is not here but you are as gladly received as he would have welcomed you, the chief is gone to the country of the Pawnee Mohaws; he believed you had gone that way the father of the Toyash girl went with the chief to seek his daughter—

Col Dodge, How did the Commanchees obtain the American flag I saw flying in their camp?

Chief The Pawnees from La Platte sent two flags one for the Wacoahs and the other to the Comanches—

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[36] George B. Abbay was a member of Captain Nathan Boone's company of Rangers which was sent from Fort Gibson in the summer of 1833 under Colonel Kearny, on a scouting expedition. In the southern part of what is now Pontotoc County, Oklahoma, Abbay was captured by the Indians and killed. (G. F.)

Col Dodge Do the Spaniards come here to trade with you (47)

Chief They do, but left us not long since and went west;

Col Dodge The Americans will give you better & cheaper goods than the Spaniards do. Tell me if you know where the ranger Abby was taken & how he was killed;—

Chief, I have inquired & and have learned this day that the Indians who live near St Antonie in Mexico captured Abby and that they killed him on Red River

Col Dodge, What Indians kill our Santa Fe Traders—

Chief There is a roving tribe of verry bad Indians called Wakinas, they range north of the county of Arkansas—

(Col Dodge here presented the girl to her friends whereupon they conducted her from the council)

Col Dodge, I am verry much pleased at the exchange of prisioners. I hope the friends of the girl will be happy with her She is a good girl; I wish her well. I will restore the little boy to his Mother her heart will be glad and she will think better of the Pawnees (48) A bright sun has shined on us this day; I hope the great Spirit will let it shine continually upon us. You have some Osage prisoners

We will exchange and give you your Pawnee friends and you shall restore the Osages to their friends how many Osages have you ?

Chief There are Osages here they are men who are raised here, and do not wish to leave us, The Delaware woman & boy of the Toyash have died of a small pox, a great many of the Toyash have died of a small pox.

Col Dodge The American president will have a treaty of peace made between you all then you will meet and exchange prisoners this will be done when the next grass grows, The Osages who are with the Pawnees who then wish to return to the Osages will be able to return and the Pawnees who are with the Osages can come back to their people

Chief We wish to have it done soon (49)

Col Dodge The American president wishes to see some of each nation shake hands before him, he will give presents to those who visit him and fix a permanent peace between thier nations; Peace cannot be made with all the tribes until a large white paper be written & signed by the president and the hands of all the chiefs,— Will your chiefs go with me now to see the American president ? I also wish to take with me some Commanche chiefs, The President will be happy to see you, and as I told you before will mak you hansome presents of guns coats &c. (much demurring among the chiefs) Col Dodge proceeded. This is the proper time to make peace with the red man & white men if you do not sieze the opportunity you may not have another. The Bright Chain of friendship can now be made bright between all Indians & white men (50)

Chief— We do not like to pass through timber, it will be hard for us to pass through the timber between us & [the] white men—

Col Dodge— There are roads; a big road is now being made—

Chief, We have met here as friends and hope to remain so. The Great Spirit has seen us as we see now the white men Cherokees Osages Delawares & Senecas, as friends we hope to remain so—

Col Dodge, I hope so, How came you by the negro who is with you here?

Chief This Commanche brought him he found him on Red river you can take him and do as you please with him

(Here the council closed they agreed to meet Col Dodge at his tent in the morning before the sun was high)

July 23, We-ter-a-shah-ro and two other principle men met Col Dodge at his tent this morning (51) and held forth with him

The four leaders of the bands of Indians who were with [us] were present at the talk & participated therein.— Col Dodge Spoke & [as] follows.

Toyash chiefs, I told you yesterday that I wished to show you the road that leads to the great American Captain and make you acquainted with the Indians that live on the way thither. Have you thought of going with me. Our great Father wishes you to see the red men that live on the way that you may be better able to settle all difficulties with them you shall be well treated presents shall be made to you and you shall be sent back in safty. Peace cannot be made unless some of you go. I am not the great Captain he alone can make peace with you and other red men I wish only a few of you to go with me I wish you to go willingly and as (52) friends had I chosen to force you to go it would have been easy for me to have done it you see I do not wish to force you.

After a good deal of consultation one of the chiefs (a Wacoho) consented to go. Then the following interesting ceremony took place.—

The boy whom we recovered yesterday is the son of Judge Martin before mentioned who was killed some weeks since by a party of those Indians. The boy was with his Father on a hunting excrusion and being parted from him (This death however he did not witness and is now in ignorance of it) The boy relates that after being parted from his Father the Indians who had taken him were disposed save one to kill him This one shielded him and took care of him in sickness adopted him into his family as a member thereof protecting him from angry insults (53)

Col Dodge spoke and said for this noble kindness gave [give] him a rifle and caused they [the] boy to present to him with his own hand a pistol. The Indian evidently shed tears on receiving the pistol from the hands of the boy.

Col Dodge now assured the chiefs that they should have further presents if they would go with him to his country that he regretted that he had nothing of value with him but begged them to except some rifles pistols &c which they did with evident satisfaction—

Weterashahro and the other chief men with him consulted some time together on the subject of visiting the President

Weterashahro spoke We have been at war with the nations we see around us today we wish now to make peace with them. (54)

Col Dodge answered him It is the wish of the president that you make peace with them; that you present to each other clean hands It is to effect this I wish you to go with me, (The Chief resumed) We wish much to make peace with the Osages We have been long at war with them We wish to see the lands of the Creeks & Cherokees also to shake hands with all. We want to hear those In-

dians who save come with you speak to us— The chief men of the four tribes now spoke as follows—
Dutch the Cherokee Chief (remarkable for his warlike exploits against those Indians) "I am now going to tell you what the Cherokees bade me say to you if we met as friends— He says to you his people wishes to come to you without fear and that you should visit them without fear.— My heart is glad that we are (55) willing to be friends—a long time ago it was so— there was no war between us

I am rejoiced & my people will be rejoiced when they hear that it may be so again—

Look at me you see I speak the truth I have nothing more to say—
Beatte, leader of the Osage band— (A Frenchman who has lived nearly his whole lifetime among that tribe and matured to their manners & customs) We came for peace— I have brought a few Osages with me who are not afraid to come among [you], with hearts inclined for peace. We look on our friend (Col Dodge) as our Father he is a true Father to us all. I hope that you will believe all he says to you, and he will prove a father to you also— We wish you to visit our people to see how we live since the whiteman [men] have been our friends They have made us happy. they will make you happy— You Should go with (56) our father as he wishes. You must then come & see the Osages. I have said all that I can say—

Monpisha, or Bill (an Osage youth of fifteen years) spoke to the Toyashmen We shake hands with pleasure. I am nothing but a boy my father was an Osage Chief. We wish to be your Brothers. Dogs fight— we wish to be peaceable men and friends Our good Father has made in coming to you a great road we hope it will neer be stained with blood. My Father told me he was once a wild Indian. that the white man taught him to be happy instructed him how to build houses raise cattle and live like white man. I was sent to the white man's School (Missionary School) was taught to read & write— this will be extended to you if you make peace with white men.

Your Buffaloe will be gone in a few years. your great Father the president will give you cattle and teach you how to live without Buffaloe. (57)

George Bullet (a Delaware) Spoke When I tell the Delawares that we are friends and can hunt without waring together they will be happy Our children will hereafter be happy and not fear each other. We will no more fear the prairie Indian and you will not be afraid of us

Col. Dodge resumed— I am glad to hear what our friends say to you I must say to you now that I am verry sorry a few of our horses got into your cornfield last night, I Shall pay you for the damage done. It is not my wish to disturb your property in any manner. White men will always be just to you. I must also repeat that I regretted that the pistol was accidentally fired in the Council lodge yesterday I did not wish to alarm your people I was pleased with the coolness of your chief he was not alarmed (58) I wish you now to consider if some of you will go with me The chiefs signified they would go home and decide who should accompany the command on its march back, and accordingly left our camp—

Many Commanches arive to day amongst them the principle cheif Ta we que nah and two other chiefs Col. Dodge held the following talk with him in his tent—

Col. Dodge. The Great American Capt—has sent me to view this country and to offer the hand of friendship to all the red men who are here He wishes to see you all at peace with each other he desires you to come & see him that he may fix a permanent peace with your tribes he will make you presents and he will send traders among you who will serve you with [a] great many things that you want to make you happy The president who is a good father (59) to you wishes to see you at peace with the Osages Cherokees Delawares and all other red men. We have endeavored to give you evidence of our friendship—We did so when we passed your camp you were not at home your women & children were defendceless treated them kindly We confided in you too. Our sick men we left behind near your camp"

Ta-we que nah replied I passed a night in your camp with your sick men they treated us kindly

Col Dodge.— "You say that the Indians over Red river are your enemies they kill you when they meet you; these are Mexican Indians and do not make treaties with our great Father the president; but he will protect you when you make peace with the Osages and other tribes that have been at war against you; the flag that you have came to you from your great father the President. The Pawnee Mohaws have (60) such a flag and all other red men who are our friends; whenever you show it you will be known as friends, I was glad to see the flag over your camp—

The Chief replied) I wish to be at peace with you; There are many tribes of Commanches I shall visit them all this year and will say to them what you have said to me they will all be glad to make peace with you. I am an old man now but never since I was a boy did I kill one of your people You ask who killed the Ranger (Abby) I can tell you for I remember when this white man was taken the Texas Commanches took this white man and carried him over Red river & there killed him—

Col Dodge,— I wish some of you to go with me so that you may see our country and that peace may be made strongly between you and the red men as well as between ourselves. The Pawnee Mohaws met the (61) Osages Delawares and Cherokees on our lands and there made peace they were enemies before they are now friends and do not hate each other We wish you to come to us and make in the same way peace with us"

Te we que nah "You have girl who was taken from our friends the Kiowas, I have a Spanish girl who was taken from her friends, I will give you the Spanish girl for the Kiowa girl that you have brought with you—

Col Dodge,— I wish to secure your friendship and the friendship of the Kiowas I wish you to accompany me I wish some of the Kiowas to go also; but I do not mean to sell the girl to them I mean to give her to her relations & friends without price I will give the girl to her tribe they shall see how much their friends they [we] are— Ta, we, que, nah "If I go with you I shall be afraid to come back through the timber. Col Dodge I pledge myself that you shall be safely conducted back— (62) Ta we que nah "I cannot go myself my brother will go with you"—Here the talk was interupted by a band of some 20 or 30 Kiowas rushing on horseback into Camp and almost in the door of Col Dodges' tent; the Squaws & children fled in great alarm The indignation of these Indians against the Osages had kindled to a great pitch and could scarcely be kept in respectful bounds in relation to us. The Osages not many months previously had murdered a large number of the women & children of the Kiowas whilst the men were absent hunting. We held in possession of which they were informed a Kiawah girl who was taken on the occation of the Masscre alluded to. The Kiawans who had just arived were not aware of the intention on our part to restore the girl and consequently presented themselves in a warlike shape that caused many a man in camp to stand by his arms during the day (63) Col Dodge however immediately addressed them with assurance of our friendly relations and gradually drew them into a friendly council with us. The next day was appointed council with all the tribes— Accordingly by ten oclock the Indians had assembled to the estimate number of from 2 to 3000 wararors peculiarly adapted to fight or flight mostly on horseback. with their bows strung and quivers filled with arrows some with lances some war clubs battle axes and some few with rifles— They were elegantly mounted particularly the Commanches, who ride gracefully and are excelent horsemen The place appointed for the council was about one hundred yards from our encampment, where none but Col Dodge with his staff & a few others were permitted to attend. The rest of the command ordered to remain under arms during the day— (64) The Council being in order Col Dodge proceeded

Commanchee chief. You must be a great man and have great power, it is my wish and the wish of the great American Captain to secure your friendship for your lasting peace and happiness.

I therefore wish to determine whether you will go with me or not I wish to go as soon as practible as no time is to be lost here in consequence of the scarcity of our provisions— (Then Col Dodge brought forward the Kiowa girl and presented her to her parents and relations) with the following cerrimony. Kiowa Chiefs & braves you see in order to secure your lasting peace and friendship and do acts of kindness to you I give you your daughter and relation without money or without price (65) The father of the girl gave us a verry animated speech extolling Col Dodge and the white men saying You have brought my lost daughter back They would alternately come and fall upon the Cols neck and imbrace him envoking the blessings of the Diety to rest upon him. The Kiowa Chief Spoke as follows White men & brethren this day is the most interesting period of our existance. The great Spirit has caused a light to shine all around us so that we can see each other. The great Spirit has sent to see us these white men & brothers Kiowas, take them by the hand and use them well they are your friends; they have brought home your lost relation. When you meet a white man take him to your lodge give him Buffaloe meat & corn then he will always be your friend.— (66) (The remaining part of the council was simular to that of yesterday) The [they] finally concluded for some of them to accompany us to Fort Gibson—

On the morning of the 25th There came to Col Dodgs tent all the principle Chiefs of the Toast Wacao Kiowa & Commanchs and demanded of Col Dodge in writing all the proceedings of the council as a lasting token of peace and friendship. They also came mounted on mules prepared to accompany the march they appeared eager to get off. Accordingly about half past 2 oclock we took up the line of march a little S. of E. a distance of about 8 miles.[37] bearing considerable E of the way we went out. The Indians rode in front alone with the Col. and as I carried Matthew I rode in company with them.

July 26 Continued our march over a much better country than the rout we went out leaving all the high rocky hills to our right and left passing through a beautiful level vally covered with herbage also some sign of coal mines in this country frequent and large lumps of plaster of Paris, seen today We no [know] not how to account for our Pawnee Mohaw guide us the rout we went out whether his intentions were honest and he knew not the way, or he wished to decoy us in those intolerable hills of rocks so the Indians might come attack & exterminate us But certain it is he took us through the worst country ever passed over by any troop.

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[37] East 6 miles. T. B. W.

Verry little water today intirely out of provision except some horse & mule meat bought from the Indians, Come to Day about 25 miles[38] Encamped near a (68) small muddy stream where we passed off the night weak fateigued and exhausted. One man taken sick this evening—

July 27 Our march to day was directer[39] nearly due E through a vally surrounded by high white granites of rocks about 2 Oclock this evening we arrived at Camp "Finley" where we left our sick on going out and Lt Izard[40] in command We found this Camp in a desolate situation having to remain on post every alternate hour for three days without ever being relieved; the sick some little on the recovery. No Deaths save one boy servant to Lt. Wheelock We remained here this night Nothing of importance occurs Only making preperations for an early march to morrow morning directing our course towards Cantonment Leavenworth (69)

July 28th Early this morning all hands were up and making preperations for the march for the conveyance of the sick &c 8 of whom we had to carry in litters who were unable to ride on horseback The face of the country was rolling praries with some steep ravines and almost impenetrable thickets which was with difficulty the command and particularly the litters got through Our course today a little N of E. about 18 miles [41] We all now feel our situation hunger thirst and a burning sun almost sufficient to contract any disease and the pale sallow sun burnt features plainly showed the men cannot endure it much longer Among the most cheerful in the command was little Matthew, who appeared perfectly reconciled to his fate and no heroic youth ever displayed more bravery fortitude perseverance and endurance of hardships than this unfortunate child— his good sense strong mind and cheerful manner plainly shows that one day he will be a great man We struck our camp this evening after a march of about 20 mls.[42]

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[38] East 21 miles. T. B. W.

[39] East 23 miles. T. B. W.

[40] James Farley Izard, born Pa. apptd from Pa. Entered West Point July 1 1824—Grad 17 in his class—Bvt 2d Lt Inf and 2 Lt 2d Inf July 1 1828—1st Lt Dragoon Regt Mar 4 1833. Died Mar 5 1836 of wounds received Feb 28 1836 in action with Seminole Indians at Camp Izard, Fla.

[41] East by North 12 miles. T. B. W.

[42] See note 41.

July 29 This morning weak hungry and fateigued we were aroused by the well known sound of the Bugle and after disposing of our course and simple repast we all repaired to the prairie for our much jaded steeds— which were grazing promiscously for to satisfy their craving appetites— After saddling we all packed up and moved off in three colums. Traveling today weak and weary over a country similar to that of yesterday when all at once the resound was heard through the lines "Buffaloe Buffaloe" which was to us a pleasing sight (71) Instantly was heard the well known report of Beattes rifle who with his party brought into our camp tolerably plenty of this most excelent meat which served us with a most dilicious repast

It rained most incessantly hard during the day and night which purefied the Atmospher verry much The sick report increasing Our march today was due East 20 miles[43]—

July 30th Today we passed over some steep ravines the banks of which was lined with thick brush & undergrowth. Crossed the False Washita[44] river about 200 miles above where we crossed it going out and as it is much smaller here we crossed it with less difficulty the river is not more than 40 yd wide and shallow enough to ford Some of our sick men dangerously ill 7 in litters— (72) We passed today more timber than usual. Course a little N of E 15 miles halted & Encamped in a beautiful grove of timber[45].

July 31st. Our march continued today over some high elevated prairies with verry little important occurancy in camp. Our whole diet now consist of Buffaloe meat without even salt Col Dodge declares his intentions of marching to Camp Cannadian as the soonest place of obtaining provisions for the men We came today about 12 miles[46] halted and Encamped near a grove of timber water bad. Not having anything comfortable for the sick either in their transportation or anything comfortable for them to eat consequently they must of course dwindle and become weaker and much less able to endure the hardships of the prairie. (73)

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[43] East by North 15 miles. T. B. W.

[44] The course described by Wheelock and Evans from the Comanche village is substantially northeast, which takes them across the Washita near Chickasha and crosses the Canadian River near where is now Norman, Oklahoma. (G. F.)

[45] North East 14 miles. T. B. W.

[46] North East 10 miles. T. B. W.

Augst 1st. We proceeded on the march this morning at the usual hour, in a short time struck into the "cross timbers" which was not altogether as difficult in passing through as it was in the country farther South— This day we crossed the Cannad. about 100 miles above our former trail— The bottoms and prairie on both sides was litterally covered with Buffaloe running in large herds and from our own exertion also those of our hunters we were supplied with Buffaloe meat in great abundance This night we Encamped about one mile from this river after marching about 12 miles through a desperately poor country[47]—

Augst 2d We remained in camp today waiting the arival of an express sent to Gen Leavenworth also for the purpose of drying Buffaloe meat— (74) This express was sent to Gen Leavenworth for the purpose of informing him of our retrograde march who was following us with the remainder of the Dragoons and two Companies of the 3d Infantry also some pieces of Artilery. who were to march to our assistance if we met with the contemplated attack— There were large parties of hunters sent out to kill Buffaloe of which they brought in, in great abundance— To see a bold Dragoon mounted on his steed rushing to the charge upon a herd of Buffaloe although worn down by fateigue & hunger. he approaches near the drove singles out the fattest and best cow reanimated with new vim he coragiously puts her to full flight and with whip & spur puts after her away over the plains for miles without stopping when at a distance of a mile you see the flash of his rifle then suddenly hear the explosion; Those Indians who were with us had a different mode of killing those wild cattle of the forest I saw one instance when one of those wild men of nature Strung his bow and without hesitation off he took to flight when he had got within about 15 or 20 paces of a fine fat cow let fly his pointed arrow and the arrow positively went some distance through the beast which proved her death in a verry short time. This

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[47] North by East 15 miles. T. B. W.

is their only way of warfare as there are no guns among [them] they handle the Bow with great dexterity (76)
Augst 3d We moved our encampment about ½ mile[48]; in order to get water as the ravine or places where we were getting water has gone intirely dry— There is considerable discord and dissatisfaction prevails among the men every one anxious to proceed to where they can get some provisions. The express sent to Genl Leavenworth not yet returned our whole time employed in kill drying Buffaloe meat to last us into winter quarters for it is not intirely known to us whether we will go to Fort Gibson or Leavenworth. The place where we are now encamped is in the edge of a grove of timber thickly grown over with brushwoodand undergrowth[49] our spring dug in the side of the bank of a Creek this spring affords us but a small allowance of water—(77)

Augst 4th The command marched today about 10 miles[50] following the Buffaloe which ran before us in great numbers avoiding our active and expert hunters. This day in many places is spent by the citizens in electioneering carreers & oratorical strains But not so by us our principal [thought] is to obtain something to eat— Demegogues may prate for honor & profit, But a poor Dragoon could tell a more pitying and interesting tale to supply his immediate necessities— Nothing of importance occurs the weather verry warm some of our sick mending—

Augst. 5 Remain in camp today for the double purpose of drying Buffaloe meat and the arival of the express Accordingly about 12 O,clock the express brought to us the mournful inteligence of the Death of Genl. Leavenworth This Gallant & interprid officer pushed far in the interior of the country in while in delicate health also in a verry unhealthy climate. overcome by fateigue he sunk to an untimely grave in the arderous performance of his duties to his country— On the reception of this inteligence Col Dodge declared his intention of proceeding to Fort Gibson with as little delay as possible touching near Camp Canadian as a place of getting provisions our encampment tonight in a white oak thicket surrounded by high rolling

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[48] Moved one mile. T. B. W.

[49] Evans is describing the Cross Timbers which they have again encountered in the southeastern part of Cleveland county. (G. F.)

[50] South 8 miles. T. B. W.

Prairies with poor grazing for horses owing to the drouth which burned the grass intirely dead. The grazing for horses generally poor—(79)

Augst 6th This morning the command was ordered to march verry early accordingly at 8. Oclock we were all mounted and took up the line of march invigerated by new prospects of getting some provisions I say all I mean all that were able for there were nine now carried on litters. We directed our march through some of the most impenatrable brush thickets ever troops attempted to pass which was with great difficulty we got our litters through— We came today about 25 miles[51] halted and Encamped near a grove of timber water miserably bad and verry scarce—

Augst 7th Persued our march crossed a deep and muddy creek which was with difficulty we got over owing to the steepness of the banks and muddy bottom of the creek— (80) after crossing this dreadful marass we struck into a level bottom overgrown with high majestic trees. this bottom was never surpassed by fertility of soil nor excelency of timber; after we passed through this grove of timber we struck into high white oak ridges, grown over with small scruby white oak bushes imitating verry much the barrens of the more eastern parts, Marched today about 20 miles[52] halted and encamped near a white oak thicket., verry little water warm sultry weather and verry dry little Matthew becoming a great favorite in the command— The Indians with us dislike verry much going through these timbers although they appear to be satisfied and think much of Col Dodge as their Great Father— (79)

Augst 8th Early this morning we mounted our horses and moved off for about 5 miles when we came into high Stony white oak ridges verry poor soil and injurious to our horses feet which were all without shoes; In coming over these Stony points we found among the Brushwood a variety of most delicious wine grapes of which we all partook freely and ate hartyly. We desended a long winding stony point at the foot of which hill we came to the little river (so called by the Indians)[53] This river is one fork of the Cannadian and emties into it about one hundred miles [sic] bebelow this We crossed this river and encamped on the East bank immediately in a rich fertile Bottom— (82) We came today about 20 miles[54] In consequence of these long marches a great many of our horses are giving out some of which we are leaving behind and some others not coming up until a late hour in the night. We found here a nut growing in ponds of water and makes an Excelent substute for coffee—and of which the men make great use—

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[51] South East 23 miles. T. B. W.

[52] South by East 18 miles. T. B. W.

[53] From the 6th to 9th the Dragoons marched in a general southeastern direction on the divide between Little River and the Canadian crossing the former a few miles above the mouth and probably passing by the site of

Augst 9 Our march today was through a varigated country of some prairie and woodland. Soil verry inferior some high rolling prairies and thick brush wood. until we struck the road[55] leading from Fort Gibson to Camp Cannadian which road we followed within 3 miles of the latter when we halted and Encamped for the night[56] (83)

Augst 10th 1834 We Remain in camp today for the purpose of obtaining some rations from Camp Cannadian. This evening we received four days rations which came verry acceptable to all hands now every man making preperations for cooking. The day past in recruiting ourselves & horses and when night came we retired to rest much better satisfied & more contented than we had been for some time— Every man now thinking his prospect of once more seeing civilized people quite favorable Every heart was lighted up with joy when he thought such a hazardious expedition was about to terminate. It was a pleasing thought to every one to think he had purformed (84) his duty in penetrating so far in the western forest Early on the morning of the 11 we commenced the march to Fort Gibson nothing of importance occurs only when we halted to encamp and the prairie through which we traveled was all on fire. Our Encampment was frequently so much surrounded by the burning flames that we would have to get bushes and extinguish them— Came about 20 miles today.[57] On the 12 resumed the march came walking alternately every hour for the purpose of releiveing

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Holdenville. They intersected their old trail a few miles above Camp Holmes. (G. F.)

[54] East by South 18 miles. T. B. W.

[55] North East 20 miles. T. B. W.

[56] From Camp Canadian the Dragoons retraced their trail to the Creek settlements at the site of Eufaula. Here they were made happy by rations of pork and bread and the horses were regaled with corn. (G. F.)

[57] 22 miles. T. B. W.

our horses which were now becoming verry weak and giving out 8 or ten of a day— (85)

Augs 13d Came today about 15 miles[58] and struck the N fork of the Cannadian in the Creek settlements where we got some more provisions also corn for our horses The Corn was now in a good graiting state. here we got good water This is an excelent country the land good and well cultivated those Indians live well. they rais vegetation of all kinds common to a civilized country— On the 14th We came about 15 miles[59] and Encamped at our old camp Rendesvous next morning proceeded on to the Arkansas river where all the command (save Col Dodge his staff & ordinance stores) were ordered to encamp Col Dodge with his staff (86) and myself carring Matthew crossed the river & encamped about one mile below the Fort— The Morning of the 17 we all went into the fort every person anxious to see little Matthew The Dragoon Encampment was situated above the Fort on a high and Commanding Emenance where there was a great number of sick Our pale haggered and sallow complection and raged appearance too plainly showed we had been on a long and hazardious Campaign. We remained here until the 25 inst. when Col Kearney arived from Washita with his command who were all then or had been sick The men were dying of four or five of a day (87) Col Dodge sent Messages to all the Cheifs of the surrounding tribes of Indians wishing them to come and hold a treaty with their "far Western" Brethren—

For Several days those Indians were gathering in from all parts The more refined *Choctaws Cherokees Creeks Delewars* & Senecas next the less uncivilized though more warlike Osages All those Indians had their different encampments although were entirely friendly when they met— To see this motly collection of severally toungs and different tribes mingling together in harmony and friendship would be a fit subject for a writer; for it resembled a fair or an Election more than anything else I (88) could compare it; with their different dresses and ornaments they looked really well—!

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[58] 17 miles. T. B. W.

[59] 20 miles. T. B. W.

On the morning of the 2d of Sept Col Dodge accompanied by Maj Armstrong (Indian agent) with several officers of Government met in the old Garrison Theater—

The Council[60] being in order Col Dodge Spoke as follows; "This Day [there] has arived a friend from your Great Father the President (meaning Maj Armstrong) he wishes to secure your friendship and also promote your friendship with one another —, You have been at war he wants you now to berry the tomahawke of war and Smoke the pipe of peace he wishes you to come up shake hands and make peace with one another— (89) This being interperted through the different intepeters of their respective tribes The Choctaws Cherokees Senecas Delewars & Shawnees all went up in rotation and imbraced the Toash Cheif shook him by the hand and declared ever to be his friend Next they turned to the Kiowa who hugged the cheifs of the different tribes by placing his hands alternatly on the left then the right sholder of his more corpulent and civilized Brethren then placing his hand on his own bosom then the bosom of his friend also each others forehead in like manner— he then said something and passed on to the different cheifs going through a similar proceeding with all the head chiefs (90) The Osages appeared verry unwilling to come up when told to do so and when they were coming up the *Kiowa* Cheif took his seat and it was some time before he would assent to shake hands with the Osages— At last he arose and huged the Osage cheif as he had the others At the conclusion of this cermony the Council adjourned until 10 Oclock tomorrow morning—

The Statue Noble bearing and muscular form of many of the Indians as related by various writers would here appear to be fully realized They were mostly under the common size and had none of that imaginary grandier as reperesented to exist among the ancients in a state of nature— The Osages however are much the most regular featured best built and largest though the most corpulent size— (91) Some few traits of their Archilian built and Herculian strenth appeared in their brawny but well purpotioned limbs and the deep sedate countenances and fixed eye uncaught by vain curisity or glistening trinkets that ornamented their more polished brethren— the Choctaws & Cherokees seemed to carry the mind back to times long since gone by—

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[60] This was the first conference ever held by representatives of the government with these southwestern Indians and it was one of the most important Indian councils ever held in the southwest; for it paved the way for the treaty that was made the next year between the United States and these Indians who were designated in the treaty as the Comanche and the "Witchetaw"; and in 1837 with the Kiowa, Ka-ta-ka and Ta-wa-ka-ro tribes. (G. F.)

They appeared unconcious of the bustle and meriment occationed by the novel form the Toash & Kiowas had of making peace—

On the 23rd (Pursuent to adjournment) the different tribes assembled in the council house and after having a talk among themselves (except the Osages who did not join in the assembly) The purport of which council was similar to that of yesterday. They all seated themselves at a respectable distance and came (92) up by turns and mad speches to their red Brethren from "the Setting Sun"— The Osage chief was the last to come up and with some reluctance he did so At lenth rising from his seat he walked with a firm step in front of them then stopping stretched forth his well proportioned arm and pointing to the different tribes therein collected he spoke as follows; "By this time you must be somewhat acquainted with the ways of our Great Father. Our Great Father is verry wise; and all the men you see collected around you are his children and my Brethren— The Great Spirit is looking at us now and I am for making peace with you all I wish you to tell the truth so that if you are for peace we may be able to raise our children (93) in peace— All the rest of the Red men you see around you are at peace with the white man and with one another— and their faces are getting whiter and whiter. So they hardly any longer appear to be my red Brethren. You alone remain out of the settled country, and my tribe have as hitherto alone wared against you because you were enemies to the white man. You must now follow the white mans advice or you may be made to fill [feel] his wrath so saying he took his seat. After several intorogatorys by Col Dodge & others the Council adjourned *Sine Dei,* and all broke up in harmony & friendship Little Matthew[61] was sent to his Mother and those Indians back to their country (94) Four Companies are making preperations for to march to Fort Leavenworth The sickness is now becoming verry alarming as we have a great many deaths every day— Capt Ford taken sick[62]

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[61] In the early part of September, Colonel Dodge sent an officer to Red River to return little Matthew to his frantic mother who had offered a reward of $2,000 for his return, little knowing that he was to be restored to her without the customary ransom or reward. It is said that Matthew grew to manhood and left descendants in the southern part of Indian Territory and it is hoped to find some proof of this. (G. F.)

On the 8 of Sept three Companies randizvoused on the Verdegris river in the Creek Nation. Where we remained two days making preperations for the march to Fort Leavenworth. Our march from there to the above post was perperations for the march to Fort Leavenworth. Our march from there to the above post was performed in about 18 days with verry little interuption. passing through a most beautiful fertile country of land touching at some of the Osage Indian towns. We also past the frontier of the Missouri state bounding on the Indian lands— then striking into the Sineca Shawnee and Delaware country crossing the "Kansow" river about two miles from its mouth into the Missouri. This river is very wide and shallow by no means suitable for navigation at least any distance up it. On the 22d of September we all arived safe at Fort Leavenworth (there being verry few sick on the way)— At the sight of this garrison our hearts leaped with joy to think we would soon be comfortably situated in winter quarters after so long and fateiguing Campaign.

here we found good warm comfortable houses to shelter us from the storms of the approaching winter On our arival here we [found] there were two Companies of the 5 Infantary who immediately embarked for Jefferson Barracks which gave us sufficient room and our toils and fateigues were measurably ended—

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[62] This is the first mention that Evans has made of the captain of his company since he states on the first page of his journal that he was a member of Capt. Ford's Company.

Note. The above section of Hugh Evans Journal covers the Campaign of 1834. The balance of the Journal covering the Campaign of 1835 will be published by the Kansas Historical Society.

OKMULGEE CONSTITUTION

INTRODUCTION.

In the last two issues of CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA there have been reproduced the official journals of the first two sessions of the General Council of the Indian Territory, held respectively in September and December, 1870, at Okmulgee, in the Creek Nation. The purpose for which this General Council of the Indian Territory was convened was to consult together in regard to matters of mutual concern and interest. Four years before, in 1866, new treaties with the five civilized tribes by the Federal Government had been exacted by its authorized representatives. Each of these new treaties contained certain provisions that were common to all of the others. Among these was one which specified that the Congress of the United States should have the right to enact legislation for the organization of a territorial government for the Indian Territory. In compliance with the terms of this provision, bills had been introduced in the House of Representatives during the sessions of the 39th and 40th Congresses. In the 41st Congress, Representative R. T. Van Horn, of the Kansas City (Missouri) district introduced a somewhat similar measure which had been drawn up by the House Committee on Indian Affairs. The terms of this measure aroused bitter opposition on the part of the leaders of the five civilized tribes, who filed strong protests against its passage. It was at this time that the inter-tribal conference was called to meet at Okmulgee, where the first session of the General Council of the Indian Territory was organized, with the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Enoch Hoag, presiding.

The Van Horn Bill was reported to the House, when a controversy arose between the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Committee on Territories, the bill reing referred back to a special committee consisting of the members of both committees. No further action was taken. Railway construction was quite active throughout the states and territories west of the Mississippi just at that time and several lines had been projected through the Indian Territory. Railway influence in Congress was very active in an effort to have government land grant subsidies made effective in the Indian Territory as well as on the Public Domain. It was the fear, on the part of the Indians, that this might be brought to pass that led to the calling of the first delegated meeting at Okmulgee, in September, 1870.

The adjourned session of the General Council of the Indian Territory convened at Okmulgee on December 6, 1870. Two days later, Campbell Leflore, of the Choctaw Nation, introduced a resolution authorizing the president of the General Council to appoint a committee consisting of ten members "to advise a permanent organization of the Indian Territory as contemplated in the treaties of 1866." This committee was duly appointed, Mr. Leflore being named as its chairman. On the second day following, this committee rendered a report, advising that a constitution, republican in form, with due regard for the rights of each tribe under existing treaties, be drawn up and submitted for adoption. This report was adopted on an aye and nay vote, with forty-eight delegates voting in the affirmative and five delegates voting in the negative. Colbert Carter, a delegate from the Chickasaw Nation, then moved that the president of the General Council be authorized to appoint a committee consisting of twelve members for the purpose of drafting such a constitution. This motion having been adopted, the following persons were named as members of the committee thus created:

William P. Ross (Cherokee), Campbell Leflore (Choctaw), Colbert Carter (Chickasaw), John F. Brown (Seminole), Francis King (Ottawa), Joseph P. Folsom (Choctaw), G. W. Johnson (Cherokee), C. H. P. Percy (Chickasaw), Ok-tar-har-sars Harjo (Muskogee), George W. Stidham (Muskogee), Riley Keys (Cherokee) and Augustus Captain (Osage).

This Committee immediately began its labors and, six days later—December 16, 1870, rendered its report in part. The consideration of this report was taken up at once and the greater portion of the remainder of the session was devoted thereto. The final vote on the adoption of the constitution as a whole, for submission to the several tribes for ratification resulted in fifty-two ayes and three nays.

Though the Okmulgee Constitution, as this document came to be known, was never ratified by the several tribes whose delegates in council had framed and submitted it to them, and though Congress never took any action in regard to it, this charter continued to be a theme for much discussion both in and out of the Indian Territory. More than a third of a century passed before any part of the people of the Indian Territory again essayed to formulate an outline for an organic law.

CONSTITUTION OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY.

Whereas the people of the nations of Indians inhabiting the Indian Territory have agreed by treaty with the Government of the United States, and being by its agents invited to meet in General Council under the forms prescribed by the Treaties of 1866 and the action thereon of the Government of the United States, having thus met to frame the laws and arrange the machinery of a government for the country occupied and owned by them, in order to draw themselves together in a closer bond of union, for the better protection of their rights, the improvement of themselves, and the preservation of their race and relying on the guidance and favor of Almighty God to carry out in a consistent and praticable form the provisions of said treaties at the earliest practicable day, do hereby enact and promulgate the following as the Constitution or organic law of the said Indian Territory:

ART I.

Sec. 1. All that portion of country bounded on the east by the states of Arkansas and Missouri, on the north by the state of Kansas, on the west by the Territory of New Mexico and the state of Texas, and on the south by the state of Texas, which has been set apart and guaranteed by the Treaties and laws of the United States as a permanent home for the Indians therein lawfully resident or such as may be in like manner settled therein hereafter for the purpose of this Constitution shall be known and styled as "The Indian Territory."

Sec. 2. Each of the nations of Indians who by themselves, or through their representatives may enter this confederacy, do agree that the citizens of each and every one of said nations shall have the same rights of transit, commerce, trade, or exchange in any of said nations as he has in his own, subject only to consistency with existing treaty stipulations with the United States and the laws regulating trade and intercourse, and under such judicial regulations as are hereinafter provided. But no right of property or lands, or funds owned by any one nation shall be in any manner invaded by citizens of another nation; and it is hereby distinctly affirmed that the rights of each of these nations to its lands, funds and all other property shall remain the sole and distinct property of such nation. Any Indian nation now represented in this General Council or which may hereafter enter in a legal manner, or be now in said Indian Territory, may be admitted to representation and all the privileges of this joint government by accepting and agreeing through their proper authorities to the provisions of this Constitution.

ART II.

Sec. 1. The powers of this Government shall be divided into three distinct departments, to be called the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial Departments of the Indian Territory.

Sec. 2. No person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers properly belonging to either of the others except in cases hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ART. III.

Sec. 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a General Assembly which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives; and the style of their acts shall be,—"Be it enacted," or "Be it resolved by the General Assembly of the Indian Territory."

Sec. 2. The Senate shall consist of a member from each nation whose population is two thousand citizens, and one member for every additional two thousand citizens, or fraction greater than one thousand. Provided, nations with populations less than two thousand may unite and be represented in the same ratio, and provided further, that the Ottawas, Peorias and Quapaws shall be entitled to one senator, and the Senecas, Wyandottes and Shawnees to one senator, and the Sac & Foxes to one senator.

Sec. 3. No person shall be eligible to a seat in the General Assembly, but a bona fide citizen of the nation which he represents and who shall have attained the age of twenty-five years.

Sec. 4. The House of Representatives shall consist of one member from each nation and an additional member for each one thousand citizens or fraction thereof greater than five hundred.

Sec. 5. The members of the Senate and House of Representatives shall be elected by the qualifid voters of their respective nations according to their laws or customs and shall hold their office for the term of two years. Vacancies that may occur shall be filled in like manner.

Sec. 6. The Senate when assembled shall choose a President and its other officers, and the House of Representatives a Speaker and other offiicers; and each shall judge of the qualifications and returns of its own members. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Sec. 7. Each branch of the General Assembly shall keep a journal and determine the rules of its proceedings, punish a member for disorderly behavior and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same offense.

Sec. 8. The General Assembly shall have power to legislate upon all subject and matters pertaining to the intercourse and relations of the nations of the Indian Territory, the arrest and extradition of criminals escaping from one nation to another; the administration of justice between members of the several nations of the said Territory and persons other than Indians and members of said nations; and the common defense and safety of the nations of said

Territory. But the said General Assembly shall not legislate upon matters other than those above indicated. The General Assembly shall meet annually on the first Monday in June at such place as may be fixed upon at their regular session.

Sec. 9. Members of the General Assembly and other officers, both Executive and Judicial, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices, shall take the following oath or affirmation, to-wit: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the Indian Territory and that I will faithfully and impartially discharge to the best of my ability, the duties of the office of ———————— according to law. So help me God."

Sec. 10. The members of the General Assembly shall be paid four dollars per day while in actual attendance thereon and four dollars milage for every twenty miles going and returning therefrom on the most direct travelled route, to be certified by the presiding officer of each house. *Provided*, no member shall be allowed per diem compensation for more than thirty days at any annual session.

Sec. 11. Members of the General Assembly shall in all cases except of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during the session of the General Assembly and in going to and returning from the same.

Sec. 12. No power of suspending the laws of this Territory shall be exercised unless by the General Assembly or its authority. No retrospective law nor any law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be passed.

Sec. 13. Whenever the General Assembly shall deem it necessary to provide means to support the Government of the Indian Territory, it shall have the power to do so; but no revenue shall be raised not actually necessary and in accordance with law, uniform in its operations throughout the Territory.

Sec. 14. All bills making approproiations shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose amendments or reject the same. All other bills may originate in either branch subject to the concurrence or rejection of the other.

Sec. 15. The House of Representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching. All impeachments shall be tried by the Senate. When sitting for that purpose, the Senators shall be on oath or affirmation and shall be presided over by the Chief Justice; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Sec. 16. The Governor and all civil officers shall be liable to impeachment for any misdemeanor in office; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than removal from office and disqualification to hold any office of honor, trust or profit under this Government; but the party whether convicted or acquitted, shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial and punishment according to law as in other cases.

Sec. 17. The salaries of all officers created under this Constitution, not otherwise provided shall be regulated by law, but no increase or diminution shall be made in the same during the term for which said officers may have been elected or appointed.

ART IV.

Sec. 1. The Executive power of the Territory shall be vested in a Governor who shall be styled the Governor of the Indian Territory, and whose term of office shall be two years, and until his successor shall be elected and qualified. He shall be elected by the qualified electors of each nation on the first Wednesday in April at the usual places of holding elections of the several nations. The returns of the election of Governor shall be sealed up and directed to the Secretary of the Territory who shall open and publish them in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives in joint session assembled. The person having the highest number of votes shall be declared Governor by the president of the Senate; but if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, then one of them shall be chosen by the majority of votes by joint ballot of both Houses of the General Assembly.

Sec. 2. The manner of conducting and determining contested elections shall be by law.

Sec. 3. No person shall be eligible to the office of Governor who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years.

Sec. 4. Whenever the office of Governor shall become vacant by death, resignation, removal from office or otherwise, the President of the Senate shall exercise the office, until another Governor shall be duly qualified. In case of the death, resignation, removal from office or other disqualifications of the President of the Senate so exercising the office of Governor, the Speaker of the House of Representatives shall fill the office until the President of the Senate shall have been chosen and qualified to act as Governor.

Sec. 5. The Governor shall receive at stated times for his services a compensation to be fixed by law which shall be neither increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, nor shall he receive within that period other emoluments from the Indian Territory.

Sec. 6. The Governor shall from time to time give to the General Assembly information in writing of the state of the Government and recommended to its consideration such measures as he may deem expedient, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

Sec. 7. The Governor, on extraordinary occasions may by proclamation convene the General Assembly at the seat of Government to legislate upon such matters only as he may recommend.

Sec. 8. When vacancies occur in offices the appointment of which is vested in the Governor by and with the consent of the Senate, he shall have power to fill such vacancies by commission which shall expire at the end of the next session of the General Assembly.

Sec. 9. The Governor may grant pardons, and respites and remit fines for offenses against the laws of this Territory, and shall commission all officers who shall be appointed or elected to office under the laws of the Territory.

Sec. 10. Every bill which shall have passed both houses of the General Assembly shall be presented to the Governor; if he approve, he shall sign it; if not he shall return it, with his objections, to the house in which it may have originated, which shall enter the objections at large upon the journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of the members present shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent with the objections to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered; if approved by two-thirds of the members present of that house, it shall become a law; but in such case the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nayes, and the names of members voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the Governor within five days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall become a law in like manner as if he had signed it unless the General Assembly by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall be a law unless sent back within three days after their next meeting.

Sec. 11. There shall be a Secretary of said Territory who shall be appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate and who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law. He shall also act as Treasurer of the Territory until otherwise provided. Before entering upon his duties as Treasurer, he shall give bond with such sureties as may be required by law. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but by warrant from the Governor, and in consequence of appropriations made by law. There shall also be appointed in like manner one Marshal who shall have power to appoint such deputies as may be authorized. There shall likewise be appointed one Attorney General and two District Attorneys, whose duties and term of office shall be defined by law.

Sec. 12. All commissions shall be in the name and by the authority of the Indian Territory, and be sealed with the Seal and signed by the Governor and attested by the Secretary of the Territory.

ART. V.

Sec. 1. The Judicial Department of the Indian Territory shall be vested in a Supreme Court, three District Courts, and such inferior courts as may be provided by law; but their jurisdiction shall not interfere with the civil and criminal jurisdiction retained to each separate nation by the treaties of 1866.

Sec. 2. The Supreme Court shall be composed of the three Judges who shall be appointed by the Governor with the approval of the Senate as District Judges. Two of said judges shall form a quorum of the Supreme Court for the transaction of business. Their term of office shall be six years, provided, that the office of one of said judges shall be vacated in two years, of one in four years, and of one in six years, so that at the expiration of each two years one of said judges shall be appointed as aforesaid. The judge appointed for six years shall be the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and upon the expiration of his term the senior judge in office shall be thereafter the Chief Justice.

Sec. 3. The Supreme Court shall meet at the Capital commencing on the first Mondays in June and December in each year. The Supreme Court shall be the court of appellate jurisdiction from the district courts and original jurisdiction in such cases as my be prescribed by law.

Sec. 4. The Supreme District judges shall have power to issue writs of *habeas corpus* and other process necessary to the exercise of their appellate or original jurisdiction.

Sec. 5. The District Court shall have original jurisdiction of all cases civil and criminal arising from the trade or intercourse between the several nations and all cases arising under the legislation of this government as may be prescribed by law.

Sec. 6. Writs of error, bills of exceptions, and appeals may be allowed from the final decisions of the District Courts in such cases as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 7. It shall be the duty of the General Assembly to divide the Indian Territory into three districts which shall be as nearly equal in territory and population as may be practicable, assign one of the three judges to each district and provide for the holding of terms of the district court in each at such times and places as may be deemed expedient.

Sec. 8. No person shall be appointed a judge of any of the Courts until he shall have attained the age of thirty years and be a person of good character and suitable qualifications.

Sec. 9. No judge shall sit on a trial of any case in which he may be interested, or in which he is connected to either of the parties by affinity or consanguinity, except by consent of the parties; and in case of disqualification of any judge, the vacancy shall be filled as may be prescribed by law.

Sec. 10. All writs and other process shall run in the name of the Indian Territory and bear test and be signed by the Clerk issuing the same.

Sec. 11. Indictments shall conclude "Against the peace and dignity of the Indian Territory."

Sec. 12. Each court shall appoint its own Clerk whose duty and compensation shall be fixed by law.

ART. VI.

Sec. 1. The General Assembly may propose such amendments to this Constitution as three-fourths of each branch may deem expedient; and the Governor shall issue a proclamation directing all civil officers of the Territory to promulgate the same as extensively as possible within their respective districts, at least six months previous to the annual sessions of the National Councils of the nations parties hereto; and if three-fourth of such National Councils at such next annual sessions shall ratify such proposed amendments they shall be valid to all intents and purposes as parts of this Constitution.

Declaration of Rights.

That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and established we declare :

Sec. 1. That all political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority and instituted for their benefit; and they shall have at all times the inalienable right to alter, reform or abolish their form of government as may be lawfully provided for.

Sec. 2. The free exercise of religious worship and serving God without distinction of creed shall forever be enjoyed within the limits of this Territory. Provided that the liberty of conscience shall not be construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace, safety and good morals of this Territory.

Sec. 3. No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust in this Territory.

Sec. 4. Every citizen shall be at liberty to speak, write or publish his opinions on any subject being responsible for the abuse of this privilege; and no law shall ever be passed curtailing the liberty of speech or of the press.

Sec. 5. The people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and posessions from all unreasonable searches, seizures, and intrusions; and no warrant to search any place or to seize any person or thing shall be issued without describing them as nearly as may be, nor without good cause supported by oath or affirmation.

Sec. 6. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have a speedy public trail by an impartial jury, of the district wherein the crime shall have been comitted; the right of demanding the nature and cause of the accusation, of having the witnesses to testify in his presence, of having compulsory process to procure witnesses in his favor, of having the right to be heard by himself and counsel, of not being compelled to testify against himself, nor to be held to answer to any criminal charge but on information or indictment by a grand jury.

Sec. 7. All prisoners shall be bailable before conviction by sufficient surety except for a capital offense where the proof is evident or the presumption great.

Sec. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted, and all courts shall be open and every person for an injury done him in his person, reputation or property, shall have remedy as the law directs.

Sec. 9. No person for the same offense shall twice be put in jeopary of life or limb and the right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

Sec. 10. No person shall be imprisoned for debt.

Sec. 11. The citizens shall have the right in a peaceable manner to assemble for their common good, to instruct their representatives and to apply to those vested with the powers of government for redresss of grievances or other purposes, by petition, address or remonstrance.

Sec. 12. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless the public safety shall require it.

Sec. 13. All powers not herein expressly granted by the nations parties to this constitution are reserved by them respectively according to the provisions of their several treaties with the United States.

SCHEDULE FOR THE CONSTITUTION.

In order to organize the Government of the Indian Territory, and secure practical operation for the same, it is hereby ordained that the provisions of this schedule shall be of the same binding force as the Constitution, of which it is a part, that it shall be the duty of the Secretary of this General Council to transmit a duly authenticated copy of this Constitution to the executive authority of each nation represented in the General Council and to ask the acceptance and ratification of the same by Councils or people of the respective Nations.

Upon receiving from such authority notifications of its acceptance and ratification by National Councils representing two-thirds of the population of the nations represented in the General Councils, it shall be his duty to promulgate such fact, and to call a session of the General Council from the nations ratifying this general Constitution at such place as the present session may designate for its next meeting. It shall be the duty of the General Council when so assembled to adopt such measures as may be necessary to secure the election of a Governor and members of the General Assembly, and to fix the time of the first meeting of said assembly, whose duty it shall be to perfect the organization of a Government of the Indian Territory under the provisions of the foregoing Constitution.

Provided, that this Constitution shall be obligatory and binding only upon such nations and tribes as may hereafter duly approve and adopt the same.

G. W. GRAYSON, Secretary.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FRISCO RAILWAY LINES IN OKLAHOMA

INTRODUCTORY.

During the discussion at a meeting in Washington, D. C., in 1866, between the representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes and the Government Commissioners, on the proposition of territorial form of government, one of the U. S. Commissioners asked: "What will you call the territory?" A full-blood Choctaw, a Presbyterian minister, by name of Allen Wright, instantly responded: "Oklahoma," much to the surprise and consternation of members of the other tribes, who naturally desired to deliberate before answering the question. In the Choctaw language, "Okla" means people, and "huma" or "homa" means red, thus signifying "Red People." And it was in accordance with this suggestion that the treaty between the Government and the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes was signed.

When it is remembered that Oklahoma was not admitted to Statehood until 1907, and was at that time thirty-ninth state in population (in 1920 it had advanced to twenty-first position); when it is remembered that the state has taken first place in the production of mineral oils and refined oil products; that it has taken fourth place in the production of cotton, and has a greater coal area than Pennsylvania; that it ranks tenth in total value of farm products, and produces more broomcorn than all the other states combined, one can get an idea of the marvelous growth of this wonderful state and its unprecedented development.

The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad (now Frisco) was originally planned to be built from the state of Missouri to the Pacific Coast, with a branch from the Canadian River eastward to the western boundary of Arkansas, at or near Van Buren, and, on July 27, 1866, the U. S. Government authorized a land grant for such project of odd sections to the amount of twenty sections per mile on each side of the road through the territories and sixteen sections per mile through states, the extent of this indemnity limit being thirty miles in states and fifty miles in the territories, on each side. Several miles of this project were built in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California, but the irony of fate seemed to be against such a system weathering the pioneering days, when there was little or nothing to haul, with the result that, today, Oklahoma is virtually the western terminus of the present system.

The St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad was a very important factor in the development of Oklahoma, the Frisco Railroad to-day being the first in mileage in the entire state, by almost two hundred miles, and only one other railroad system in Oklahoma approaching that. Its lines penetrate nearly every section of the entire state, and these various extensions were made when Oklahoma was in fact what its name then implied, the Indian Territory. But the vision seen by the officers of the then Frisco Railroad was not an idle dream; it was the foreshadowing of the reality of great fertile farms of wheat and cotton, of the growth of modern thriving cities. And the principal dreamer responsible for his company's acquiring or building these various extensions was none other than B. F. Yoakum. That he did dream and plan well, is evidenced by the fact that the first Oklahoma oil field was discovered adjacent to this company's line by the bringing-in of a fifteen hundred barrel well, about three miles east of Kiefer, in the spring of 1907, known as the Glen Pool; and the Frisco rails reach, or are near, every important field brought in since the discovery of this original Glen Pool, thus furnishing an immense tonnage of high-revenue freight—the receipts of Tulsa Station alone averaging almost one million dollars a month.

ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC.

The Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company, created by an act of Congress approved June 7, 1866, acquired from the South Pacific Railroad Company, in October, 1870, a railroad completed for operation extending from Pacific, Missouri, to Pierce City, and a partially-built road from the latter point to the state line at Seneca, Missouri. The Atlantic & Pacific completed that portion of the road and extended west in the then Indian Territory, thirty-four miles, to Vinita, finishing that part for operation about September 1, 1871, under Jno. B. Thomas, Chief Engineer. The terms of its creative act carried a grant of right of way and station grounds in the Territory. The road in the Territory never became Frisco property until 1897, when it was sold under foreclosure and acquired by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company (the 1896 organization).

In 1881-1882 the Atlantic & Pacfic extended its road from Vinita to the east bank of the Arkansas River at Tulsa, sixty-five miles. In 1885 and 1886 the road was extended to Red Fork, about three miles. The bridge over the Arkansas River, a pile structure, was completed in 1886. Prior to its completion, the rails were carried over the river on a temporary pile trestle, and when the water was high, the service west of Tulsa was discontinued until such time as the water receded, the bridge was inspected carefully, and the needed repairs were made.

In 1886, the road, under G. F. Huggins, Chief Engineer, was built to Sapulpa, ten miles. At this time Sapulpa consisted of a depot, a small hotel operated by a party by the name of Smith, and a general merchandise store conducted by Henry Hall. To build and equip the 111.77 miles of line in the Territory, cost about $2,000,000, and of itself the line was not a paying proposition; it is doubtful if sufficient revenue was earned at any time in its existence to meet its operating and maintenance expenses and pay interest on its cost. There was no land in cultivation and consequently nothing was produced to ship out. In the spring months, Texas cattle by the thousands were shipped in to fatten on the millions of acres of grazing land, and to be shipped out to market in the latter part of August, when owing to the wonderfully nutritious properties of the grass, they would be as fat as grass could make them. It was a comparatively uninhabited country, and, aside from the shipments of cattle, there was little or nothing to sustain a railroad. The line was operated between Red Fork and Sapulpa only during stock-moving time. It was not until the St. Louis & Oklahoma City Railroad Company built to Oklahoma City, in 1898, that the Atlantic & Pacfic enjoyed a living revenue.

ST. LOUIS & SAN FRANCISCO RAILWAY.

By an act of Congress, passed and approved in 1885, the St. Louis & San Francisco Railway Company acquired the right to construct its road between Ft. Smith and Red River north of Paris, Texas, through the Choctaw Nation. By this act it acquired its right of way and station grounds, paying the Choctaw Nation for them. The road from Ft. Smith, Arkansas, to Paris, Texas, was constructed in 1886 and 1887. The operation of traffic trains between its termini was inaugurated on July 1, 1887, about 169 miles, of which 144 were in Oklahoma.

KANSAS CITY, FT. SCOTT & GULF RAILROAD.

In the summer and fall of 1896, the Kansas City, Ft. Scott and Gulf Railroad Company extended its road from Baxter, Kansas, to the north bank of the Neosho River at Miami, thirteen miles, of which twelve miles were in Oklahoma. In 1901 this line was rebuilt with new and heavier rails; the Neosho River was spanned with a 300-foot steel bridge on concrete substructure, designed for heavy power; and the line was then extended to a connection with the Frisco at Afton, thirteen miles. Shortly afterward an excellent service was inaugurated between Kansas City and Oklahoma City and Fort Worth, Texas.

ST. LOUIS & OKLAHOMA CITY RAILROAD.

The St. Louis & Oklahoma City Railroad Company, an Oklahoma corporation, was incorporated in November, 1895, for the purpose of constructing a road from Sapulpa to Oklahoma City, a distance of 103 miles. Messrs. C. G. Jones and Henry Overholser, (both deceased), of Oklahoma City, were the prime movers in this undertaking, and Jones, especially, worked unremittingly until early in 1898, when he was able, through the assistance of some Illinois friends, Messers, Johnston Brothers & Faught, to enlist moneyed interests in St. Louis to finance the scheme and build the road. It was completed in December of that year. It is to be observed in passing that at about that time, or soon after, Oklahoma City began to really grow and to assume the aspect and proportions of a real city, as distinguished from a big country town. At the time this road was completed for operation into Oklahoma City, its population was not more than 4,000 or 5,000 and general conditions were bad.

KANSAS, OKLAHOMA & GULF RY.

Another aggressive Oklahoman, Mr. Ed. Peckham, of Blackwell, together with his associates, organized the Kansas, Oklahoma Gulf Railway Company in 1897, and during the year 1899, built a railroad from a connection with the Frisco on the state line south of Arkansas City, to Blackwell, a distance of nearly eighteen miles.

ST. LOUIS, OKLAHOMA & SOUTHERN RY.

The St. Louis, Oklahoma & Southern Ry. was organized in the office of Wm. Ragan at Shawnee, Oklahoma, August 13, 1895, with the following directors: Charles N. Points, Henry G. Beard, Wm. Ragan, Henry C. Linn, Edward L. Thomas, and, at later dates: John F. Brown, of Sasakwa, (Governor of Seminole Nation), W. H. P. Trudgeon, of Purcell, Oklahoma, General Pleasant Porter, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, John C. Williamson, of St. Louis, Missouri, joined the organization with officers as follows: Charles N. Points, President, John F. Brown, Vice President, Wm. Ragan, Secretary, Henry G. Beard, Treasurer & General Manager.

It seems that no particular route had been settled upon, but on November 5, 1895, it was voted on motion of W. H. P. Trudgeon that A. L. Phillips be appointed Engineer, and in company with President C. N. Points, that he make examination in the Red River at or near Willis, Indian Territory, west of Denison. Accordingly, the two gentlemen started out equipped with a team, hand level, and anernoid. President C. N. Points furnished the team and his services for five dollars a day. Late in November, 1895, they opened negotiations with persons at Lexington, Indian Territory, and with various citizens of Chickasaw Nation, with the view of interesting some of them in becoming stockholders in the St. Louis, Oklahoma & Southern, and they also wrote Congressman Flynn for a copy of the President's veto of the Oklahoma Central Bill, which, incidentally, was giving them some concern. In May, 1896, C. N. Points, John F. Brown, and General Pleasant Porter went to St. Louis for the purpose of obtaining aid for the speedy construction of this line.

In July, 1896, C. N. Points, Wm. Ragan, and Henry G. Beard were appointed a committee to confer with certain citizens of Tecumseh relative to a railroad then being built by these citizens, with the view in mind of securing this road. This committee was to also negotiate with towns along the proposed line with the view of procuring aid to build the road. They particularly attempted to get aid out of Claremore, Norman and Chickasha.

At a meeting December 1, 1896, C. N. Points, H. G. Beard, and as many directors as would go, were authorized to accompany the engineer on a trip to Claremore, Indian Territory, and the general manager was authorized to put surveyors in the field to run a route commencing at a point on line of the Frisco R. R. at Claremore, or between Claremore and Sapulpa, to be determined by the President and the general manager, this line to be run in a southwesterly direction to Wewoka and to further run from Shawnee to some point on main line between Wewoka and Willis. There had been some correspondence with localities in Texas with the view of interesting that section in the project, and in April, 1897, it was unanimously voted to continue the reconnaissance of Engineer A. L. Phillips, on horseback, between Wewoka and Whitesboro, Texas, for the purpose of ascertaining the most feasable route between these two points, and to obtain data as regards resources of the country.

It has been determined early by resolution that, until the company was chartered by the National Congress of the United States, no assessment would be made on the stock, but that such assessments as were necessary to cover current expenses would be levied upon the stockholders themselves, individually, and that, before the issue of said charter of the National Congress, there should be no indebtedness incurred beyond such sums as might be raised in this way. But on May 4, 1897, it was voted to negotiate a loan of six thousand dollars for the purpose of defraying expenses of a survey in order to prepare plats to be submitted to the Secretary of the Interior for his approval. This loan was secured by the entire capital stock of the company issued to its members and assigned in blank. And about this time they were experiencing considerable difficulty in locating a feasible route from Hugh Henry's ranch to Wewoka. Governor Brown, of the Seminole Indians, as noted above, was deeply interested in the object sought and was one of the officers. About 1899, Johnston Brothers & Faught, of St. Elmo, Illinois, became interested in the proposition at the instance of B. F. Yoakum, and, with the aid of St. Louis capitalists, financed and constructed the road from Sapulpa to Denison, Texas, about 198 miles, of which 193 were in Oklahoma. Surveys of definite location were begun in January, 1900, and for some time the grading outfits were close on the heels of the locating engineers. The road was completed for operation into Denison about the middle of March, 1901, and through service between Sapulpa and Sherman, Texas, was begun on March 17. The road and equipment franchise and other property passed to the Frisco in June, 1901.

ARKANSAS & OKLAHOMA R. R. CO.

The next road to be built into Oklahoma, which is now Frisco property, was the line from Rogers, Arkansas, to Grove, Oklahoma, forty-seven miles, of which about eleven miles are in Oklahoma. It was completed into Grove in November, 1900. This line was built by J. M. Bayless, of Cassville, Mo.

ARKANSAS & CHOCTAW R. R. CO.

In August of 1901 a contract was awarded Messrs. Johnston Brothers & Faught for the major portion of the construction of the railroad of the Arkansas and Choctaw Railway Company, from Arkinda on the east to Ardmore. This road was financed by St. Louis capital, and its construction was prosecuted with the usual vigor of the contractors. This line crosses many good-sized streams near their confluence with Red River, and much masonry and many heavy steel bridges were necessary. The construction and erection of these, delayed considerably by high waters, impeded the progress of construction. The line was completed with a gravel-ballasted track into Ardmore, 168 miles in August, 1903. A branch line from Kersey to Texas Junction on the Sapulpa-Denison line, nine miles long, was also constructed during the construction of the main line between Arkinda and Ardmore.

OKLAHOMA CITY & WESTERN R. R.

The Oklahoma City & Western Railroad Company, an Oklahoma corporation, together with the Oklahoma City & Texas Railroad Company, a Texas corporation, built the road from the end of track of the former St. Louis & Oklahoma City Railroad Company, at Oklahoma City, to Quanah, Texas, 174.85 miles of this road being Oklahoma. This line was contemplated some three years before actual construction started thereon. Extensive preliminary surveys were made in 1898 and 1899, but it was not until late in 1901 when B. F. Yoakum, with the aid of the St. Louis Union Trust Company, of St. Louis, was able to raise the necessary finances to actually build the road. A large portion of this road traverses what was the Kiowa and Comanche Indian reservation, and it was not until after these Indians had taken their allotments, and the residue was thrown open to white settlers in 1901, that construction of the road was definitely determined. There were only two intermediate towns below Chickasha worth considering, namely, Altus, in Greer County, and Lawton (named after General Lawton of the U. S. Army) which was designated as a U. S. Land Office.

The Sac and Fox, Iowa, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, Kickapoo, and in fact all Indian lands made available for settlement, were opened at a given hour, and in each case there was a wild scramble for the most desirable homestead claims. Conflicts and disputes were so numerous that it was decided that the method of opening other reservations to settlement should be on a different plan. So when the Indians of the Comanche-Kiowa and Wichita-Caddo reservations were induced to take allotments and permit the surplus lands of their reservation to be thrown open to settlement, it was arranged that each intending settler should register at the Government Land Office in El Reno and Lawton, and that the name of each should be enclosed in large boxes, to be mounted on axles so they could be shuffled and mixed. This unique lottery, as it was called, probably closed the homestead era in Oklahoma. From land of this reservation, three counties were formed, viz., Caddo, Comanche, and Kiowa. In the drawing, a telephone operator, a Miss Beall, drew Claim No. 1, part of the section on which Lawton is now situated. Work was started on the Oklahoma City & Western R. R. in October, 1901, and the line was placed in operation between Oklahoma City and Lawton in August, 1902, eight or nine months before its final completion into Quanah.

ARKANSAS VALLEY & WESTERN RAILWAY.

The Arkansas Valley & Western Railway Company, incorporated in Oklahoma Territory, in January, 1902, was organized to construct the road connecting with the main line of the Southwestern Division at A. V. & W. Junction now West Tulsa) to a connection with the Santa Fe at Avard in Woods County, Oklahoma, with a spur two miles into Jennings. This road was built and equipped by Messrs. Johnston Brothers in the same manner as the road from Oklahoma City to Quanah. Work was begun in the fall of 1902, and was completed to a connection with the B. E. & S. W. at Steen, 118 miles, in December, 1903, and from Enid to Avard, fifty-seven miles, was completed in February, 1904.

BLACKWELL, ENID & SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY.

The Blackwell, Enid & Southwestern Railway Company, incorporated in Oklahoma Territory, in March, 1900, constructed the railroad from Blackwell through Enid to Red River north of Vernon, Texas, 238.65 miles. Construction of this was begun about September 1, 1901, by the Choctaw Construction Company (afterwards absorbed by the Bee Line Construction Company) and eighty-four miles to the Choctaw Northern Crossing at Darrow was completed for operation early in 1902. The road was completed to the Red River late in 1902, or early in 1903. The construction and equipping of this line was financed by St. Louis capital.

SULPHUR LINE.

The United States Government, in behalf of the Indians, made a reservation of the Springs, together with forty acres of land at Sulphur Springs, about nine miles west of the station of Scullin on the Sapulpa-Denison line, and in April, 1902, the Sulphur Springs Railway Company was incorporated in Oklahoma Territory to build a railroad from Scullin to Sulphur Springs. The work of construction was begun by Johnston Brothers in the fall of 1902 and the road was completed for operation in the late spring of 1903. It is nine miles in length.

O. & C. C. RAILWAY AND S. O. & M. C. & RAILWAY CO.

The Ozark & Cherokee Central Railway Company, an Arkansas corporation, constructed a railroad from Fayetteville, Arkansas, to Muskogee, Oklahoma, 103 miles long, seventy-four miles in Oklahoma. It was completed into Muskogee in March, 1903. The construction and erection of the steel bridge over the Arkansas River delayed the date of completion.

MUSKOGEE-OKMULGEE LINE.

The Shawnee, Oklahoma & Missouri Coal and Railway Company, an Oklahoma Territory corporation, constructed a railroad from Muskogee to Okmulgee, forty miles. Construction was begun in April, 1902, and was completed for operation in April, 1903.

SAPULPA AND OIL FIELD RAILROAD.

In 1915, T. B. Slick and B. B. Jones brought in the discovery well of the Cushing field, which later developed into the largest pool in the Mid-Continent Field. Soon after this Mr. J. A. Frates endeavored to get the Frisco Railway to build a line into this new field, but on account of the Frisco not being in position to finance the line, nothing was done by them. About this time, arrangements were made with Haskell interests to build a line into the field from Jennings, and shortly thereafter J. A. Frates, Sr. incorporated and built the Sapulpa and Oil Field Railroad from a connection with the Frisco main line at Depew to Shamrock, a distance of eleven miles. This line was completed in 1916, and was later sold to the Frisco Rairoad.

MIAMI-MINERAL BELT RAILWAY.

In about 1905 or 1906 development of lead and zinc properties was started at Commerce, Oklahoma, which resulted in building of the O. K. & N. R. R. between Miami and Commerce, and these mines were worked somewhat intermittingly for about ten years when it was thought the ore beds were exhausted. In 1916 the Eagle Picher Company, of Joplin, put on a very extensive drilling campaign, going after deeper veins of ore, which they confidently felt existed, and after expending possibly one million dollars on such drilling, their faith in this new field was rewarded by proving up one of the richest ore beds in the entire Tri-State District.

Early in 1917, Messrs. T. B. Slick and J. A. Frates, Sr., realizing the possibilities of this field, conceived the idea of building a net work of tracks throughout the new field, for by this time, lead and zinc had soared to highest prices on account of the world war. They incorporated the Miami-Mineral Belt Railroad with the following officers: J. A. Frates, Sr., President, T. B. Slick, Vice President, J. A. Frates, Jr., Vice President, Wm. Matthews, Vice President and Chief Engineer, J. H. Grant, Vice President, and in February, 1917, started actual construction of a 32-mile line out of Quapaw, Oklahoma. At this time the field was served by the Frisco Railway and the M. O. & G. Railway, but with no tracks into the field, except the short spur from Miami to Commerce, the principal portion of the field being without direct railroad facilities.

In ninety days after starting work, the Miami-Mineral Belt Railway was handling freight from two lines serving the field which by that time were choked with loaded cars of all sorts of materials, which were being rushed in for the completion of fifty-seven miles then under construction. This property was built under an amicable understanding with the Frisco, and it has since co-operated closely with that company.

JAMES L. ALLHANDS.

Joplin, Missouri.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

OF THE

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

AUGUST 4, 1925.

The activities of the secretary's office during the past three months have been rather out of the ordinary, for the reason that most of the same have been off the beaten track of routine work. A few days after the last quarterly meeting, the Executive Committee held a meeting for the consideration of the proposed archaeological work, which matter had been referred to it by the Board of Directors. At this meeting of the Executive Committee, the secretary was authorized and directed to attend the annual meeting of the American Association of Museums, of which this Society has been a member for several years past. This meeting was held at St. Louis, May 16th to 21st and your secretary was present at each session throughout.

The American Association of Museums was organized nearly twenty years ago—in December, 1905—since which time it has performed increasingly useful service in the lines to which its activities are dedicated. Practically all of the leading museums of the country have been or are now affiliated with it. The practical benefits of such an association are more real than apparent at first thought. Museums, like other institutions, develop from modest beginnings and pass through stages of crudeness and inefficiency. The development to the higher stages of efficiency and usefulness is greatly facilitated by the interchange of ideas concerning museum organization, administration and management, the proper selection of museum material and exhibits, the proper housing and installation of the same and the rational control and use of museums.

Most of the sessions of this annual meeting of the Association of Museums were general but several of them were divided into sections. Each section was composed of representatives of museums of a particular class, such, for instance as natural science and biology, commercial, historical, municipal, educational, etc. These sectional and group meetings afforded much greater opportunity for gaining information in special lines than would have been possible in the general sessions in which all or nearly all of the delegates and representatives might be present. Among the most interesting themes which were on the program for discussion before the general sessions, your secretary found none of more pertinent or practical interest than those of museum architecture, the proper lighting of museums, etc. This naturally raises in our minds the question as to whether our own Society might not be in danger of making a mistake in asking an appropriation for the erection of a building when, as yet, our own ideas and ideals as to what is wanted or really needed are still somewhat nebulous. In this connection it is worthy of remark that there are several institutions of a kindred character in this country which are housed in structures erected especially for their use which are manifestly so poorly planned and so ill adapted to the purpose for which they were supposedly designed as to cause the present administrative management to wish that they had never been built. If the Oklahoma Historical Society should secure an appropriation for the erection of such a building without having at least a tentative plan worked out for the same in advance, and if the selection of an architect for the designing of the proposed building is left to the same means and influences which generally prevail in the matter of buildings for other public institutions in Oklahoma, then it, too, might have occasion to regret that it had not acted more advisedly.

One of the most pertinent papers read before the meeting, at least from the view-point of the historical society worker, was the one of Dr. Arthur C. Parker, director of the Municipal Museum of Rochester, New York, and formerly anthropologist of the New York State Museum, at Albany, whose theme was the organization and development of the historical museum. The curator of the museum of a certain state historical society, who was from farther west than any others in attendance at the meeting with the single exception of your secretary, took serious exceptions to this paper, asserting that "someone is always slamming the historical societies." However, your secretary, far from finding fault with Doctor Parker's statements, frankly conceded that his dsecription of historical society museum collections which contain much haphazard, irrelevant, junk-shop, curio material which is totally lacking in historical significance or in historical value to the particular institution having custody thereof, would be fairly descriptive of conditions in our own collections. Inasmuch as Doctor Parker, who by the way is an Iroquois Indian of distingushed ancestry, is to be rightly regarded as one of the leading men in his line as a museum expert and as we have reason to be particularly interested in the subject of his timely discussion, I secured a copy of his paper and am having several additional copies made so that the members of this Board may have the privilege of reading it.

Your secretary was a stranger when he went to that meeting, for all of the rest of the people in attendance were strangers to him, though he soon found new friendships among them. Moreover, he quickly realized that he was among the technically trained members of a real profession, while he, concerned more or less with the responsibilities of the development and administrative control and care of a museum, was only an untrained pioneer. So he took it that he was there primarily to learn—to see rather than be seen and to listen attentively rather than be heard. As the result of it all, he gathered much in the way of information and also in the element of inspiration. Among the new friendships formed there might be mentioned especially, Dr. Arthur C. Parker, already mentioned; Dr. Clark Wissler, curator of the department of anthropology in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; Doctor Bingham, superintendent of the Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y., and Dr. William C. Mills, director of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus.

Immediately after returning from St. Louis, preparations for going to the field and beginning active operations in the way of archaeological excavations in Delaware County were begun. Not all of the volunteer helpers who had promised to go with the expedition were able to go when the time came and several others had to defer starting until their work for the college or university year could be completed. When the expedition arrived at Grove, it went into camp at the cave, on the bank of Honey Creek, nearly three miles distant. Another and smaller camp was established at the mound, near the mouth of Elk River, distant some seven or eight miles from the cave, later on, when more help became available. Workers were changed, at intervals, from one camp to the other, so that all volunteer workers had opportunity to study two very distinct prehistoric cultures, personally and at first hand. Much of the work, especially at the mound, was performed under trying conditions, with the weather uniformly hot and sultry.

The mound having been partially excavated by the owner of the land and having been surrepitiously invaded and looted of part of its contents by a vandal who acted at the instigation of the commercial collector above mentioned, the expedition only found about a month's work to be done in finishing its excavation. As no notes or memoranda had been made of the contents previously found and removed, it was doubly important that an accurate record be made of the results of the Society's work on this ancient earth-work, as it was in quest of definite information quite as much as it was for specimens of the handiwork of prehistoric man. All of this has been done, with results that may rightly be regarded as important and that will be made the basis of papers yet to be written and published by the Society as a part of its contribution to the world's knowledge of such themes.

The cave proved a surprise to the expedition in several ways. In the first place, one chamber which had been visited and inspected at the time of the excavation of the mouth of the cave, in 1916, was found to have been sealed shut by a drift of clay which hides even the entrance through which access was then gained. On the other hand, a much larger chamber was found, with a much greater deposit. Entrance was gained by driving a tunnel under a low hanging roof. Subsequently, a new opening into this larger chamber was excavated from the outside. The results of these efforts have been well repaid by the rare and beautifully wrought specimens of ancient arts and crafts which have been unearthed. That there may be other chambers in the same labyrinth of caverns, which served as domiciles in ancient times, is not improbable.

Having opened up more work than could be completed within the allotted time and with the allotted funds, your secretary asked the Executive Committee for permission to continue the work temporarily, pending an effort to raise funds from other sources for the purpose of making possible its continuance for a much longer period. A campaign has been organized for this purpose but, as in other matters, it has to proceed slowly in the summer time. There is much other work to be done in the same line in that region. The owner of the land on which the mound stood is quite anxious that the Society should undertake the excavation of another mound distant but three or four rods from the one already excavated. It is in the form of a truncated pyramid, approximately sixty feet square, setting square with the cardinal points and ten feet high. Of course, if funds can be raised for the purpose of continuing the work, as it is reasonable to expect they may be, your secretary can give the matter but a limited amount of personal attention, as the amount of office work will preclude anything more than that. However, the work already done has developed the fact that we have two young men in Oklahoma who have the aptitude, the interest and the inclination for such work and that they are possessed of boundless enthusiasm and tireless energy with a spirit of devotion which cannot be questioned, either of whom is capable of carrying on such a line of investigation. So the Society stands to gain by the effort, whether its secretary can find time to go into the field to direct the effort in person or not.

The specimens secured from the mound and from the cave are still at Grove, as we promised to put the collection on display before bringing it away. On one occasion, while returning to Oklahoma City from Grove, I brought a number of the smaller items from both collections with me. As the train stopped for over an hour at Tulsa, I took these up to the editorial rooms of the World, the managing editor of which had manifested a keen interest in the work that we were doing. When he found that I had such a collection with me, he brought in several other members of the editorial staff who were invited to inspect the same. They were quite enthusiastic over the finds that had been made and it was then suggested and urged that the Society should plan to display these two collections at Tulsa and elsewhere in the state before installing them permanently in the museum of the Society. Personally, I believe the suggestion is a good one as it would arouse wide-spread interest in the Society and its work, increase its influence and add materially to its membership. It will take several weeks of time and some expense to put over such an undertaking but, if the Society is after increased influence and added strength, it would be time and money well spent.

On the 17th of July, I received a rather lengthy telegram from Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, director of the Andover, (Mass.) Museum of American Archaeology, stating that he wished to talk matters over with me, that he was about to start for a brief trip to Santa Fe, N. M., and that, if I would go along with him to Santa Fe, he would pay the expenses of the trip. After consultation with members of the Board of Directors to whom I could show this message, it was decided to accept his offer, as it seemed to meet with unanimous approval. I left Oklahoma City on the morning of Monday, July 20th, arriving at Santa Fe a little more than twenty-four hours later. In all I spent three days in Santa Fe and one at the ruins of the Pecos pueblo, abandoned by its inhabitants 175 years ago and now being excavated by an expedition under the direction of Dr. A. V. Kider, of the Andover Museum, who is also secretary of the American Anthropologist Association. Doctor Kidder went over everything with me personally, explaining every part of the work in greater or less detail. He also had many questions to ask concerning the progress and results of our own archaeological field work. Mr. Moorehead, who remained at the Pecos ruin a day longer than I did, selected a number of specimens therefrom, which he packed and shipped to us by express.

Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, director of the American School of Research, which is located in Santa Fe, was very kind. He offered to take me on a two-day tour of other ruins, including both ruined pueblo sites and ancient cliff-dwelling settlements, but a previous engagement that I did not feel like cancelling necessitated a reluctant and regretful declination. The New Mexico Historical Society held a brief called meeting while I was in Santa Fe. I attended and was called upon, responding briefly, greeting the members on behalf of our

Society and pointing out some of the lines in which their Society and ours should have a community of interest.

With reference to the recent visit to Santa Fe, I wish to make several comments and suggestions. The collections of the museum of the American School of Research, previously mentioned, are housed in two buildings, namely: (a) Governor's Palace (El Palacio), which was erected during the early Spanish period in the 17th Century, and (b) the new Museum built about a dozen years ago, its architecture being a most unique adaptation and combination of Pueblo and Spanish types. The cost of this structure was very reasonable, as it was erected before the War. It would cost from $300,000.00 to $350,000.00 to duplicate it now. It was planned by the members of the staff of the School of Research instead of being turned over to the tender mercies and omniscient wisdom of a politically selected architect, as is quite generally done in the matter of designing public buildings in some other states. Without wishing to be in the least officious, it seems well to suggest that, before the next Legislature convenes, this Society should be in a position to submit at least a tentative design for a building which will suit its purposes and from which the final plans and specifications of the proposed structure may be developed by an experienced museum architect. It is reasonably sure that such a definite proposition will have much greater weight when presented to the attention of the Legislature than if our request is merely for a building, so utterly regardless of plans, designs or details as to indicate that we do not know what is really needed or wanted in the premises.

Last year, your secretary filed a budget estimate with the state budget officer. This budget, which asked for modern library and meseum equipment, and for additional room which is as yet unoccupied in the capitol building, was approved by the November meeting of the Board of Directors, without a dissenting vote. Later, when the building proposition was sprung on the Society at its annual meeting, the request for appropriation for modern equipment was wholly ignored, wih the result that no legislative consideration was given thereto and the Society finds its collections still more congested and with a grave possibility of losing all by fire. To be real plain, the Society should ask and insist that the next Legislature shall make due provision for modern fire-proof equipment for both library and museum, appropriation for such purpose to become available immediately and to be made regardless of whether or not a new building is to be erected. In the event appropriation should be secured for a new building, from two to three years would elapse before the same would be completed and ready for occupancy. In the mean time, the Society should not have to continue to labor under the handicap of being overcrowded and congested and of having to undergo the unnecessary risk of loss or total destruction because of lack of proper provision for modern equipment and additional room. The equipment to be purchased for temporary installation in unused corridors could later be moved to the building when the same shall have been completed. A building is sure to come in due time but the greatest and most pressing need is adequate floor space and modern equipment for immediate use. Putting all of the eggs in a new building basket and letting that fall, as was done at the last legislature session, might prove to be disastrous to a really tragic degree if again repeated.

Between two and three years ago, your secretary was called upon to address the McDowell Club of this city on the subject of Indian Art, the occasion being the presentation of an American Indian program. In the course of that address the suggestion was made that somewhere in Oklahoma, there should be established and maintained a self-sustaining institute or colony for the preservation and logical development of Indian art. In so doing, the writer had in mind the art colonies at Provincetown, Massachusetts, and Taos, New Mexico, both of which were mentioned at that time. He also had in mind the famous Rookwood pottery establishment, near Cincinnati. Such an institution as he had in mind would be different from either of these, though there would doubtless be an adaptation of some of the plans and policies of each. Theoretically, the arts to be practiced would include painting, clay modeling, bead-work, basketry, spinning and weaving and the production of ceramics. In this connection, it is well to state that the Museum of the School of American Research, at Santa Fe, receives and holds for sale, oil paintings which have been produced by artists of the colony at Taos and pottery which is produced by some of the most artistic potters of several of the Indian pueblos. Wholly incidental to such an arrangement, the Museum has been the recipient of numerous gifts from the same artists to it has thus extended its co-operation, the the aggregate value of such donations being already estimated as equal to the original cost of the new Museum building. Where such an Indian art establishment should be located would remain to be determined, the only limitation being that its domicile should be in Oklahoma—the Indian state. The Oklahoma Historical Society stands to gain by giving the fullest measure of moral support and encouragement to such an enterprise in case it should be launched under the right auspices.

There is evidence of growing interest in the Society and in its work, throughout the state. This comes from unexpected quarters and is manifested in many ways. To equal the expectations of the supporting public is not an easy matter. To be worthy of that support, the Society must increase in usefulness as well as its material collections. No ideal or standard which we may set up now can suffice for the attainments of a few years hence. Ours must be a growth in service rendered no less than in the documentary and museum material which is assembled and preserved for present or future use and reference.

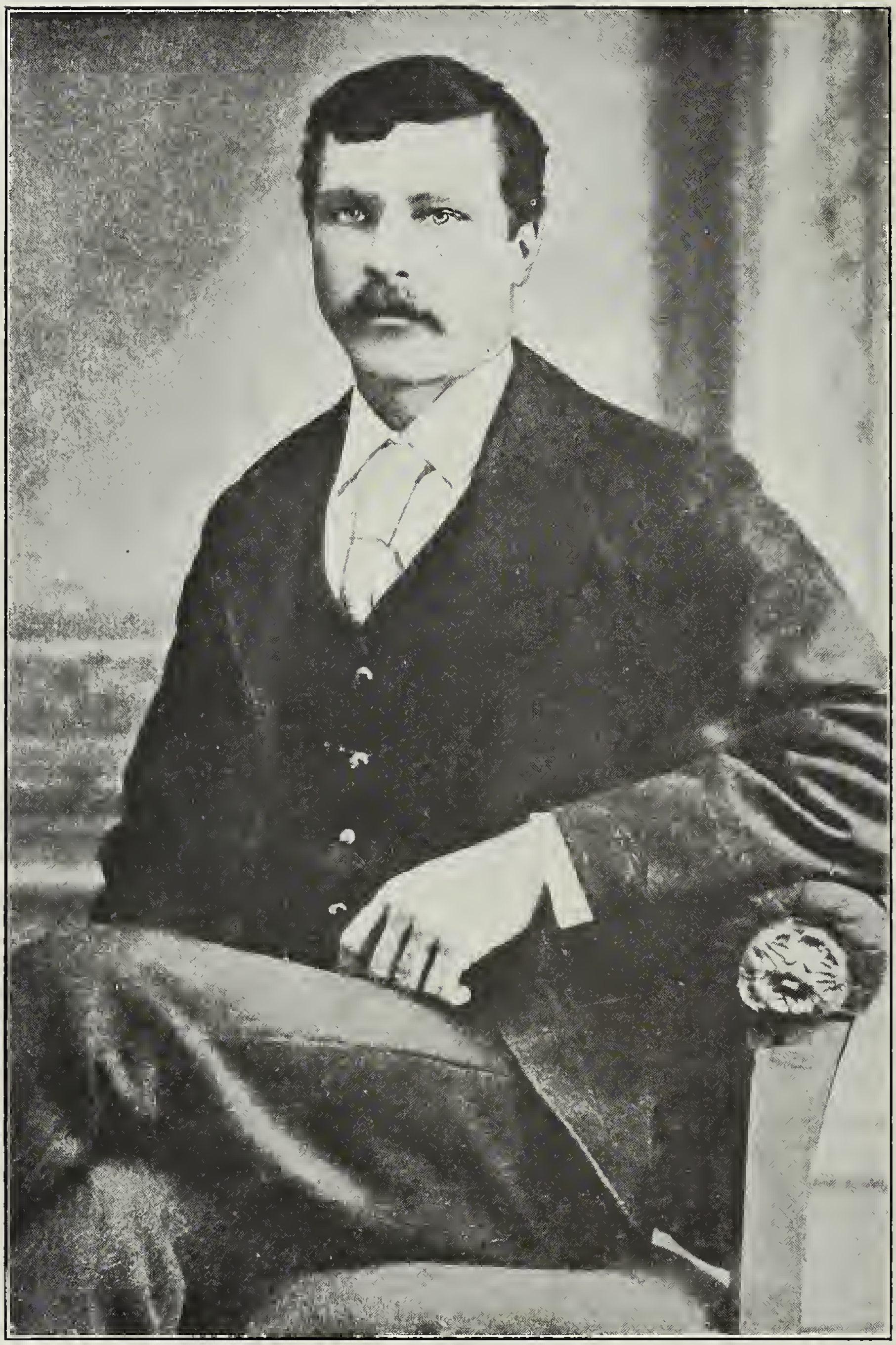
JOSEPH B. THOBURN,
Secretary.

Oklahoma City,
August 4, 1925.

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

Notice was given at the regular quarterly meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, held August 4, 1925, that an amendment to its constitution is to be submitted to the next annual meeting of the Society, for the purpose of changing the time for the convening of the annual meeting from the first Tuesday in February to the third Wednesday in January of each year.

JOSEPH B. THOBURN,
Secretary.



James C. Henderson

Chronicles of Oklahoma

VOLUME III DECEMBER, 1925 NO. 4

REMINISCENCES OF A RANGE RIDER.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

The following reminiscences were left in manuscript form by the late James C. Henderson, of Jay, Delaware County, Oklahoma. They were dedicated to his two little grandsons, Scribner and Jimmy Henderson, of Oklahoma City. As they relate the experiences and observations of one of the very first pioneer cattlemen of Kay County and the Cherokee Strip, they are of unquestioned historical interest and value, especially to the people of that portion of Oklahoma to which they more particularly pertain. These reminiscences were written less than two years before the death of Mr. Henderson, which occurred in January, 1919.

There were two additional chapters in the manuscript volume, which is in Mr. Henderson's own handwriting. One of these was the story of the battle with the Indians at Adobe Walls, Texas, in June, 1874, between a large war party of Comanche, Kiowa, Cheyenne and other Indians of the Southern Plains region and a small party of buffalo hunters, as it was told to Mr. Henderson by "Billy" Dixon, who was one of the participants. Inasmuch as a detailed account of that affair in Dixon's own words is to be found in the "Life of 'Billy' Dixon," that chapter is not reproduced here. The other chapter which has been omitted pertained to affairs in the Texas Panhandle country at a much later period.

Although written primarily for the benefit and information of two little boys, who might not otherwise be privileged to remember the tales of a grandfather, these stories are well worthy of a permanent place in the historical literature of Oklahoma.

J. B. T.

INTRODUCTORY

In an unguarded moment I decided to write the following Indian and pioneer lore. After I had begun, I wondered if it was best to do so, for, when it comes to writing, I am as completely out of my element as one of Parson Slaughter's old long-horns would have been in a corral with an unbreakable fence. Yet, knowing that these wild western scenes will never be enacted again, I have concluded to add my mite of information to help the present generation to understand the condition of things as they existed when Oklahoma was still a primitive wilderness—a country of boundless prairies and beautiful rivers, where sleek horses and cattle stood knee-deep in its superabundance of blue-stem, grama and mezquite grasses. It was with deep regret that I saw Oklahoma pass from its pristine beauty, to be dominated and transformed by the relentless hand of civilization. But what is the use? The world hates a discordant person and, besides, I spent the best part of my life there, but fled before the man with the hoe. And now, at the age of sixty, I have found refuge on Cowskin Prairie, between the Ozarks of grand old Missouri and the beautiful Cherokee hills.

JAMES C. HENDERSON.

THE OSAGE MOURNING PARTIES

It will be forty-three years in March, 1917, since I first saw the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River. In those days we had never heard of Oklahoma. What is now the state of Oklahoma was called the Indian Territory.

During my sojourn in that country as a cow boy, I saw considerable of the Osage mourning parties. I also got to be very well acquainted with many of the Osage horse herders. It had been the custom of these herders, for no one knows how long, to bring their horses to the valley of Salt Fork to winter them. When we first went to that country, in March, 1874, we found them in undisputed possession. They would bring their horses in the fall and, in the spring, the mourning parties would come.

It was a part of their religion that, when an Osage warrior died, a scalp was to be placed in his grave. This scalp was believed to form a kind of passport to carry the dead Indian to the "happy hunting grounds," in the land of the hereafter. They also killed the favorite horse of the dead Indian and left its body lying at the side of the grave. They also placed vessels containing meat and other food beside the grave. The dead brave was supposed to ride a good horse and the scalp was to show that he had been a good warrior, while the prepared food was to sustain him on his long journey. Their religion or superstition led them to believe that, without these accompaniments, the dead warrior would never be able to reach the fair land beyond the setting sun, where game was always plenty and where bad Indians and white men would never come.

After an Indian had died, a mourning party was sent out for the purpose of securing the needed scalp. It did not make much difference with them whom they killed, whether Indian, white or negro, just so it was not an Osage. At such times, they considered all other tribes and peoples as their enemies. In his stories of the prairies and during his travels from Fort Gibson through Central Oklahoma, Washington Irving makes mention of these Osage war parties. Although his party had an Osage guide and was accompanied by a squad of soldiers, they seemed to have some fear of both the Pawnees and these Osage war parties. In appearance, one of these Osage mourning parties made a sure enough wild, western scene. The warriors were painted and plumed and crested and the manes and tails of their horses were interwoven with tiny bells. Each brave also wore eagles' feathers and strips of otter skin as ornaments and was armed with a rifle, a revolver and a big knife. They certainly looked like the Devil's own.

In the spring of 1875, three Indians who belonged to one of these Osage mourning parties came to our camp and told us that there was a large party near by and they begged us not to leave camp until their party had left that part of the country. They were painted up in such gaudy fashion that it was some time before we recognized them as being some of the erstwhile friendly horse herders with whom we had gotten well acquainted a few months before. They said that most of the members of this mourning party were young men whom they could not control and that these would kill us as sure as we left camp. These mourning parties numbered anywhere from fifteen to thirty persons and, by most people who knew anything about them, were considered to be very dangerous. But they were restrained to a certain extent by the fact that the leader was responsible for the safe return of the party. If they secured a scalp and all of the party returned safely, then it was all glory. But, if one of their number got killed, even though they secured a scalp, then the entire party was disgraced. Their intentions were to take no desperate chances and only to fight when the odds were mostly in their favor.

When a camp was located by one of these mourning parties, the main body would hide while three of its members would approach the intended victim, who, seeing only three Indians and not knowing that there were others near, would be more likely to be off his guard. The main party, being near, was always ready to assist in case of need. Although they had many different ways of trying to secure scalps, this small party of three figured in many of their escapades.

The last one of these mourning parties to visit the Salt Fork country was in May, 1876. I will say more about this party in the story called "The Negro, or Wau-ka Sabba."

There was a large Indian trail that followed up the Salt Fork on the north side of the river. This was called the Black Dog Trail. Many of the Osage mourning parties followed this trail in their quest of scalps, most of which were secured from among the tribes of Western Oklahoma. There was another trail, less used, which led up the north side of Red Rock Creek. This creek was called "Pawnee No-washie-cow-haw Shing-gah," which, in English, would mean Poor Pawnee Creek. The Osages told me that, several years before, they had found a lost Pawnee on this creek and that he was almost starved to death when they found him. They killed and scalped him. I will say more about this Indian in the story called "The Lost Pawnee." We knew no other name for this creek until the coming of the Otoes, and then people got to calling it Red Rock Creek.

Captain C. H. Stone told me of some of his experiences with some of these mourning parties. At one time he was coming up the Chisholm Trail with cattle and one morning the man who had stood the last guard during the night came running into camp and reported that an Indian was running off one of the cattle on the far side of the herd. All of the men were up but Stone was the only one who was on his horse at the time. He had his overcoat on and, in taking the hobbles off his horse that morning, he had tied the hobble around his body instead of around his horse's neck as was customary. He took after the Indian as fast as he could go. He had a revolver belted on but it was under his overcoat. He was rapidly gaining on the Indian and he reached for his revolver but could not get it on account of the hobble being so tightly tied around his body. He was now getting dangerously close to the Indian and still trying to get his revolver. He could see that the Indian had a revolver in his right hand. Suddenly the Indian turned and faced Stone and, as he did so, called the latter a vile name in English and began to shoot. The horse Stone was riding was a very high strung animal and Stone could not stop him so he turned and circled back to the herd. As Stone was running this circle, the Indian shot at him five or six times. By this time the other men had mounted their horses and were coming to Stone's aid but the Indian had now run the beef out of sight over the hill. Stone and the other men rode to the top of the hill from which point they could see about thirty Indians down in a hollow. The Indian got the beef. Stone said that he could hear the bullets sing and that most of them went over his head.

Stone also said that, at another time, one of these mourning parties attacked one of his men and that, although this man was shot four times, he swam Bluff Creek and got away.

In the spring of 1875, a band of about thirty Osages left the reservation and went up Salt Fork to the Chisholm Trail, where they began to raid the first herds of cattle that came up from Texas that spring. These Indians passed through our range but did not seem to pay any attention to our cattle. As soon as they struck the trail herds, however, they would ride right into the midst of one and drive out a beef. They also demanded money for letting the herds go by. There were hardly ever more than five or six men with a herd and the herds were nearly always too far apart to render each other any assistance. The cattlemen finally sent a runner to Fort Reno and, in two or three days, he returned with about thirty soldiers. The soldiers struck the Indians west of our camp and the Indians ran as soon as they saw the soldiers. Here they came, down the Black Dog Trail, with the soldiers in hot pursuit. The running was fine, but the soldiers did some of the poorest shooting that I had ever seen. They certainly wasted a lot of ammunition. They finally killed one

Osage and scalped him and ran the others across the Arkansas River. On their way back, the officer in charge wanted to know if we knew of any other Indians. We told him there were a few Kaws but that they were harmless. He said that if he found Kaws or any other Indians that he would put them on their reservation in a hurry. The soldiers' dash and pluck seemed to be very good but their shooting was "on the bum." This band of Indians were just common raiders. They were all well armed but they were not painted and their horses were not caparisoned like those of a mourning party.

At one time, when we were camped on Pond Creek, a band of Osages camped in the same bunch of timber in which our camp was located. These Indians had come to winter a herd of horses on Salt Fork. There was one of their number who could talk good English. Every few nights he would come over to our camp and stay a while. During the winter, one of their number died and that night there were several Indians in the tepee where their dead tribesman lay. They kept up a fire all night. This Indian who could talk good English came over to our camp. After he had been there quite a while and everything had become very still, as the mourners had stopped howling, he took a knife and cut a long switch. He then went quietly over to the tepee where the dead Indian lay and struck it with the switch. The canvas being stretched very tightly, it sounded almost like the report of a gun. He then ran back to our camp as fast as he could. About the time he arrived back at our camp the other Indians began swarming out of that tepee. Some of them had guns and others had firebrands. For a few moments they ran around the tepee, firing their guns and yelling. They thought it was the Red Man's devil or bad spirit. There was a thicket near the tepee and, as they could not see the Evil One anywhere else, they thought he must have taken refuge in this thicket. They therefore surrounded it and, after shooting and throwing fire into it for a while, they concluded that they had killed him or scared him away from the camp. The best part of it was that the Indian who had struck the tepee and caused all the disturbance ran back and joined in the fracus with as much zeal as any one and he was one of the last to leave the thicket after the tumult had ceased. This incident happened about forty-two years ago. The Indian who struck the tepee was no less a personage than Bill Conner, who was a noted member of the Osage tribe and who, at one time, had the distinction of being the second chief.

THE STAMPEDE

In March, 1874, we put in a cattle camp on the Chikaskia River, near its mouth, and not far from the place where the Nez Perces Agency was afterward established. There were five of us in the camp that spring. I was sixteen and one-half years old and the others were all grown men. We had a kind of "straw boss" who was known as Colonel O. P. Johnson. He claimed to have been at one time a renowned scout and Indian fighter and, to judge from the great stories he used to tell, one would be led to think that he had fought Indians all the way from the Pecos to "the shinneries," and then some. There was no other camp in that country between the Arkansas River and the old Sewell stockade, at the Pond Creek crossing on the Chisholm Trail. The only other white people in that country were the Government employes at the Kickapoo Agency, which was located near the mouth of Bitter Creek. The Kickapoo agent was an old Quaker named Williams. The Kickapoos seemed to be nearly all women, most of the men having been killed in fighting the American and Mexican troops on the Rio Grande. There were a few Mexicans with the Kickapoos.

One day there was considerable excitement among the Kickapoos. One of the women was missing for about half a day. They thought the Osages had stolen her. The next day a Mexican told us that she had been fishing on the Chikaskia River.

The cattle we were holding belonged to my father and to old Parson Slaughter, of Texas. Parson Slaughter was the father of John, Bill and Colonel C. C., all of whom own some of the largest ranches in Texas at this time. The old Parson had moved to Emporia, Kansas, where John and Bill were going to school. My father's cattle were common Kansas stock but those of Parson Slaughter were from Texas and were of the vintage of the 'sixties. Some of them were eight years old and their horns were a fright. These cattle were regular old coasters. Our saddle horses had all kinds of Mexican brands. Such kinds of horses and cattle were very common in those days, but they would be a curiosity now. We did not realize at the time the kind of a menagerie we had.

One afternoon, after we had been at this camp about a month, we saw a band of Indians coming down the big flat east of the Chikaskia. They were coming toward our camp and, as they drew near, we saw that they were the Kickapoos. They were coming to pay us a visit and, incidentally, to ask if we would give them a beef. They had always treated us very well and had not molested anything of ours, so we gave them a beef. It was on this occasion that Colonel Johnson shone at his best. He told the Kickapoos that he owned all of the cattle and horses and that the rest of us were his hired hands. It was quite refreshing to watch him ride at the head of this Kickapoo band, showing them his big herd of cattle. After they had been given a beef, a Mexican shot it and, after it had been dressed, they brought a large chunk of it over to our camp, after saying "gracios" several times which, in Mexican, means "thank you." They then started back to their agency.

Early one morning, about the first of May, we heard a great commotion among the cattle. We were eating breakfast at the time. We jumped on our horses and ran to find the cause of the commotion. The cattle had been rounded up on the big flat between Duck Creek and the Chikaskia, about dark, the evening before. Right in the middle of the herd, we found an Osage mourning party, waving their blankets and yelling like Basha Bazooks. The way those old "coasters" did run was certainly a caution. We enjoyed the fun almost as well as the Osages did, but we had to do several miles of hard riding to get the cattle together again. The Indians ran west and crossed the Chikaskia when they saw us coming. They did not try to kill any of the cattle—they evidently just wanted to see them run.

These Indians then went on west, up the Salt Fork, and they killed a man near where the Black Dog Trail crossed Pond Creek. This man belonged to an outfit that was coming up the trail from Texas with a herd. Some of the cattle had strayed off and he was hunting for these strays when the Indians found him.

Shortly after this stampede, John and Bill Slaughter brought an outfit and took their cattle to the Flint Hills, in Kansas. We then moved our cattle up near the state line, as it was not considered safe to stay on Salt Fork in the summer time. That summer we helped to drive a herd of cattle to Emporia. While I was there on the street, one day, I met old Parson Slaughter. He told me that his cattle had gotten fat and that he would ship them in a few days and that he would then go back to Texas. While we were talking someone hallooed, "grasshoppers!" We looked toward the sun and we could see them passing over by the million. None of the grasshoppers lit that day but the next morning the ground was alive with them. I went home a few days later and, all the way down the Walnut River, they had eaten all green vegetation and, in some places, the trees had been defoliated by these insect invaders.

In the fall of 1874, the Deans put their cattle with ours and we moved by easy stages back to the Salt Fork. We went by the Kickapoo Agency but our friends, the Kickapoos, had left. There stood the Agency building, all empty. They had gone to another reservation, on the North Canadian River. We drifted on and established our winter's camp on Pond Creek, about one mile from Salt Fork.

THE LOST PAWNEE

When Arkansas City was first started, Captain Norton put in one of the first stores there. This was in 1870. Norton also did considerable trading with the Indians, in the Indian Territory. In 1871, a large band of Osages were returning from their fall hunt on the Ninneska River, in Kansas. These Indians camped a few weeks on the Chikaskia River, near the Arkansas City and Fort Sill wagon trail. There were three or four hundred of these Osages and they had secured several hundred buffalo robes and other furs on this Ninneska hunt. The Ninneska was a great range for the buffalo. I have heard my father tell of seeing the great herds there that numbered thousands. I never shall forget how I wanted to go to the buffalo range on the Ninneska, but I was told that I was too small for a buffalo hunter.

Captain Norton loaded some wagons with goods and went to the camp of this band of Osages from the Ninneska to trade for their furs. He had a large tent in which he displayed his goods. After he had been at this Osage camp for about a week, a Pawnee Indian rode into the camp. Now this was something that had never happened before, as the Osages and Pawnees had been at war for more than fifty years. Indeed, there were none of the Osages on the Salt Fork who were old enough to remember when there was peace between the Osages and the Pawnees. Therefore, the Osages at once gathered around this mysterious stranger to find out the meaning of this unusual occurance. The Pawnee told them that there were about fifty of the men of his tribe waiting near, that they had come from the south, where they had made peace with the Kiowas, and that they had now come to make peace with the Osages. The Osages told this Pawnee that they were willing to make peace and they then sent some of their men to welcome the Pawnees to the Osage camp. The Osages, having just killed their winter's supply of meat, made a great feast. They smoked and danced nearly all night and each tribe swore eternal friendship and vowed that they would never shed another drop of each others' blood as long as the grass grew and the waters ran. The next morning the Pawnees departed for their home in Nebraska but, before they left, they told the Osages that one of their number had left the party and had gotten lost, about two days before. They said they thought that he would find their trail and follow them. The Osages said that, if they found him, they would feed him and treat him like a brother and send him on the right trail.

A few days before the Pawnees came, an Osage brave had died. As soon as the Pawnees had left on their homeward journey, the Osages sent out a mourning party. Early one morning, a few days later, Captain Norton heard Indians yelling, horses running and guns firing. He did not know what it meant. He thought it might be the Cheyennes attacking the Osages. He ran up the creek bank to see what was the trouble. He saw about twenty-five Indians running toward the Osage camp. One was running about fifty yards ahead. He was carrying something that looked somewhat like a flag and he was waving this in the air as they were running toward the camp. It proved to be the return of the mourning party, the members of which had found the lost Pawnee and had killed and scalped him. They had also skinned one of his hands. They had cut a forked stick, about six feet long, and tied the scalp to the top. They had also stretched the skin from the Pawnee's hand in the space in the fork. This made a kind of banner and this was carried by the Osage who rode ahead of the returning mourning party.

The Osages told Captain Norton that the Pawnee was almost starved to death when they found him. He was the victim of a broken treaty of the existence of which he had no knowledge. He was the same Pawnee the killing of whom, on Poor Pawnee Creek, had been recounted to us by the Osages.

The Osages told us that the Pawnee used to come all the way from Nebraska to steal Osage horses. These Pawnee horse rustlers used to come in small bands of about twenty-five or thirty. As soon as the Osages discovered that their horse herds had been raided, they sent a strong force in pursuit. As these Pawnee raiders were fierce fighters, they generally escaped with a good bunch of horses, though sometimes the pursuers would be able to overtake them and recover a part if not all of the stolen animals. Sometimes, in the early spring, before the Pawnee horses had recovered sufficiently from the hardships of the winter to make the trip, the Pawnees would come afoot, carrying their rawhide lariats and walking four hundred miles in the expectation of securing their summer mounts from the Osage horse herds. While there was always considerable enmity between the Pawnees and all other tribes of the Great Plains—so much so that they were called the "Ishmaelites of the Prairies," their hands being against every man and every man's hand against them —the greatest hatred existed between them and the Osages. The Osages said that, at different times, they had followed these Pawnee raiders through Western Kansas for many days and that they had had a great many hard fights with them.

When the Pawnees were moved from their reservation in Nebraska to the new one in the Indian Territory, in 1875, they were located on Black Bear Creek, with the Arkansas River forming the boundary between them and the Osage country. For the first year or two after they were located there, we expected war to break out between them and the Osages at any time, but they managed to keep from fighting. One day, soon after the coming of the Pawnee, I was hunting some stray stock on the west, or Pawnee, side of the Arkansas River, when I met an Osage, who was hunting some horses that had strayed off. We were on the Pawnee side of the river and, after riding along together for a way, suddenly five Pawnees came riding over a hill. They were almost upon us before we saw them. I could see that the Osage did not like the looks of these Pawnees. In fact, at one time, I thought he was going to run. But he concluded to stand his ground. The Pawnees did not pay very much attention to me—the Osage held the audience. They just crowded around him and I believe that he was the worst scared person that I had ever seen. The Pawnees knew that he was badly scared and they seemed to enjoy the situation. They asked him for some of his tobacco and he gave them all he had. He tried to be awful friendly, for the man who will give you his last bit of tobacco is a friend indeed, apparently. As soon as the Pawnees left, he lost no time in getting back to his own beloved country. The last I saw of him, he was about half a mile to the north, headed for the Arkansas River and running like a scared wolf.

THE NEGRO, OR WAU-KA SABBA

In the fall of 1875, we drifted back to Salt Fork and pitched our camp in the same place on Pond Creek where we had stayed the winter before. That winter, Luke Short brought in a herd of cattle and put in a camp on the south side of Salt Fork. This made three camps on Salt Fork that winter, namely, Hopkins', Short's and ours. Early in the spring we moved our camp about ten miles east and to the south side of the river. There had been four of us in camp all winter, but my oldest brother, Tom, had gone to Kansas and that just left Colonel Dean, Broncho Jim and myself in camp that spring. Along about the first of May, about twenty-five of our stock horses strayed off. We looked for them all of one day but did not find them. The next morning Dean sent Broncho and myself to take another look for the horses, telling us to go as far south as Poor Pawnee Creek. When we reached that stream, we found a fresh looking horse trail. It looked as if it had been made by about twenty-five horses. However, we noticed that the horse tracks were all of nearly the same size, whereas, our stock horses were of all sizes, from colts up. So we concluded that it was an Osage war party. We decided to follow it a little way, anyhow. We followed it about a mile when it led into the timber and there we found the camp fire still burning and everything looked like they had not been gone more than two hours. We then went northwestward to Salt Fork, near where the Bald Mound is and found the horses on the very spot where George Miller put in a cattle camp about the year 1882. (This George Miller was the father of the Miller Brothers, who own the 101 Ranch. His cattle brand in 1882 was L K but either he or his sons afterward changed it to 101).

We started to our camp with the horses and, when we got within about two miles of the camp, we left the horses, as they were considered at home any where within three miles of camp. It was almost dark when we left the horses and, when we got within speaking distance of the camp, we told Colonel Dean that we had found the stray horses and brought them in. He asked if we had seen the Indians. We answered that we had not. He then said that an Osage mourning party had been there late that evening and that they had killed one of the cattle. He said they were camped for the night in a small bunch of timber about a half a mile away. And sure enough, Broncho and I had passed right by them without seeing either them or their horses. Colonel Dean had counted these Indians and there were eighteen of them. Why we did not see them or some of their horses has always been a mystery to me, as Broncho and I had passed right along the edge of the brush where they were camped. We could see their camp fire plainly while we were talking to Colonel Dean. This fire had evidently not been lighted when Broncho and I passed by. We then told the Colonel that another party had gone west, up Poor Pawnee Creek. After supper we began to discuss the matter of what was best to do about the stock horses. The Indians were headed right straight toward the place where we had left this bunch of horses. We did not think the Indians would want to take these horses on their expedition but we did think that they might stampede them for pure mischief. So we thought it would be best to try to move the horses. Colonel Dean proposed that we wait until toward morning before undertaking to do so, as we could hear the Indians beating their drums and singing their war songs, until about two o'clock in the morning, when it ceased. Colonel Dean then said that, if I would guard the camp and the saddle horses, he and Broncho would go and move the bunch of horses which we had brought in and left east of the Indian camp and put them with the main herd of stock horses.

Just before daylight I could hear tiny bells right close to our camp; I knew it was some of the Indians horses and, just as it began to get light in the east, I could see four Indian horses about fifty yards northeast from our camp. It was the tinkling of the tiny bells on the manes and tails of these horses that I had heard as they grazed past our camp. They were all hobbled and were grazing slowly toward the east. I then saw three Osages coming as fast as their horses could run. They passed very close to me. Having secured and unhobbled the grazing animals, they started then on the run toward their camp. I had a revolver on and a Henry rifle in my hand, while a double barrel shotgun was leaning against a tree. I must have looked dangerous or comical, as the Indians kept watching me very closely while they were unhobbling their horses. I had become an expert with my superb Henry rifle and I could have killed all three before they could have gotten out of range, but Colonel Dean had cautioned me not to shoot unless I had reason to believe that they meant harm.

The sun was coming up and I could see Colonel Dean and Broncho on a sand hill, nearly a mile to the north, looking toward our camp. I then went out where they could see me, whereupon they started toward the camp. When they had gotten within about a hundred yards of the camp, Colonel Dean hallooed for me to take off my hat to which I replied, "Never mind; my hair is all right." He then told me that, when they saw the Indians so near our camp, they thought that I had gone to sleep, that the Indians had killed me before I knew they were around and that the horses the Indians were driving off were some of our saddle horses.

About nine or ten o'clock that day, the Indians reached Hopkins' dug-out, on Pond Creek, about four miles below the old Sewell stockade. The men had all gone out to look after the cattle but a negro cook was in the dug-out. (I have forgotten the Osage name for negro, so I have substituted the Ponca word for black man, which is probably the same, as the languages of the two tribes are of common origin and many if not most of the words are identical.) This Wau-ka Sabba heard some one say "Hello" in plain English and, thinking that it was some one from our camp, he said, "Come in." But no one came, so he opened the door to see who it was and there were three Indians standing in the door. He tried to close the door but the Indians caught it and began to push and, as he threw his weight against the door in an endeavor to shut it, one of them reached in and cut off a large bunch of his wool but did not reach his scalp. There was a loaded revolver lying a few feet away but the negro was afraid to let go the door to get it. After this struggle had lasted a few moments, Wau-ka Sabba saw that he could not shut the door, so he jumped back and let the Indians fall inside. Before they could get on their feet again, Wau-ka Sabba had grasped the revolver and began shooting and thus succeeded in driving the Indians out when he closed the door. He did not kill an Indian, although he said his weapon was within two feet of their faces when he was shooting. The rest of the Indians were hidden in the brush about a half a mile away and the three Indians at the dug-out began to signal for them to come, by setting fire to the dead grass and throwing it up in the air. Wau-ka Sabba was watching them through the cracks in the door and, when he saw the main band of Indians coming, he thought it was time to move. There was a rear door that opened out down under the creek bank and the negro ran out this door and through the woods but the Indians saw him and the three that were already at the dug-out jumped on their horses and took after him, shooting as they ran. The rest of the Indians were coming in full cry, but the negro had some advantage as there was lots of grape vines and greenbrier thickets which he could run through but the Indians, being mounted, had to go around these. Also, whenever he came to the creek, he would run down and up the banks, while the Indians had to ride around the big bends. The Indians ran him within a half a mile of the stockade (Sewell's) and they shot at him every time they caught sight of him. He said afterward that, when he reached the stockade, there was a tired nigger there. He certainly made a great run, as the Indians put him through under whip and spur for almost four miles. Had his shooting been as good as his running, he might have given a better account of himself.

We had been looking for help for more than three weeks to enable us to get the cattle out of the country. The grass was good and the Indians were always more dangerous when their horses were in good condition. Luke Short had moved his cattle a few days before and, the day the Indians left, we concluded to get things in as good shape as we could that day and then try to move the cattle off of the Salt Fork ourselves. There was a small creek a few miles north, that the Osages called Ne-wheh-ka-ha Shinga, which, in English, would signify "little stinking creek." We worked hard all the next day and finally got all the cattle, horses and camp outfit moved to this creek. We knew that we had all of the horses but we did not know whether we had all of the cattle. Just before dark, my father and four other men came. The next morning we counted the cattle and found that we had failed to get them all, as about fifty head were missing. My father, Colonel Dean and myself started back to Salt Fork to look for the missing cattle. When we got near the Salt Fork, we separated, my father going eastward and Colonel Dean and I going toward the south. We had not gone far when we heard shooting, down the river, in the direction my father had gone. We rode in that direction as fast as we could. We found that the Indians were killing our cattle. Colonel Dean and I reached there just in time to see the Indians run. We could see an Indian on top of a large sand hill. He was their lookout and he gave the other Indians the signal that we were coming and then they all ran. We never got near enough to get in a shot. The Indians ran eastward and crossed the Arkansas River at the Black Dog Crossing. They had killed seventeen head of cattle and there was no doubt but that they would have killed the last one if we had not arrived in time to scare them away. They had failed to kill a man and get a scalp and were in such an ugly temper that they were trying to take their spite out on the cattle. There were some short horn cows that were too big and gentle to run much and the Indians had ridden their horses along side these and ripped them open with knives, without shooting them. We never wanted to kill any one so badly in our lives as we did when we saw the brutality with which these dumb brutes had been mutilated. This happened about forty-eight hours after these Indians had chased the negro. We never learned where they had been between times. That summer, my father and Colonel Dean went to the Osage Agency and filed a claim with the Government against the Osages for pay for the cattle, but this claim was never allowed.

THE PLUG HAT

A few days after we had located our winter's camp on Salt Fork, in the fall of 1875, I was looking after the cattle on the south side of the river, when I met a man wearing a plug hat. I was never more surprised in my life, for it was the first plug hat that had ever been seen on Salt Fork. His hat and clothes looked as if he might have been a pilgrim from the Potomac, but his horse, saddle and bridle looked as if he might have been a rustler from the Rio Grande—in fact, his outfit looked like a blending of the East and the West. His personal appearance was that of a good-looking man, but why the plug hat? He invited me to his camp, which he said was about three miles away. I accepted for two reasons, first, because I wanted my dinner and, second, because I wanted to see what kind of an outfit it was that would send out a rider on Salt Fork, wearing a plug hat. The fashion on Salt Fork had not yet reached the plug hat stage—it was still in its breech-clout and gee-string days.

While on our way to his camp, I learned that my new-found friend was none other than the notorious Luke Short, of Fort Worth and Dodge City fame. I found him to be a very interesting man. As we rode along, we came to a bunch of his cattle. They were each branded with a plug hat on the left jaw and each had the tip of the left horn sawed off. In referring to the outfit afterward, we generally referred to them as the "plug hats" or the "sawed horns."

Luke Short at one time had run the Red Dog Saloon, in Dodge City. There was an unwritten law in Dodge, in those days, against anyone wearing a plug hat. If a stranger from the East wearing a plug hat, he was immediately beset by the indignant populace and his hat was shot full of holes. As a result, plug hats were scarce in Dodge. One day, Luke Short thought he would have a little diversion, so he walked out of the Red Dog Saloon and started down street, wearing a plug hat. The plug hat, of course, magnetized the crowd. It was soon knocked off his head and shot full of holes. He put it on again but it was knocked from his head and shot several times, but he finally succeeded in making his rounds and getting back to the saloon, still wearing the plug hat. And he wore a plug hat every day that he stayed in Dodge after that.

There were gay times in Dodge in those days. One evening a stranger from the East got off the train at Dodge and, as he was taking in the sights that night, he wandered into the Red Dog Saloon. This saloon also served as a club room for the sporting element, which included most of the population. The crowd saw at a glance that the stranger belonged to the immigrant class and they began to ask him what part of the country he was from. He told them he was from New England and that he had come west to spend his vacation on a buffalo hunt. He was told that buffalo were getting scarce in those parts but that there were some fine herds of antelope within a few miles of town. They told him to come to the Red Dog Saloon the next morning and they would take him on a grand antelope hunt. The stranger then departed for his lodging house, dreaming, no doubt, of the numerous big pronghorns that they were going to bring in the next day.

There were in Dodge at that time, several head dresses and blankets which had been taken from the bodies of Indians killed in the fight at Adobe Walls. Early the next morning, seven or eight members of the crowd donned these head dresses and blankets and went on ahead to the river, where, on a certain sand bar, they took off their boots and walked around in their socks, making tracks like those made by moccasins. After making these tracks, they remounted their horses and went down the river out of sight to wait for the hunters to come. Soon after this party left, the stranger came to the saloon and said he was all ready for the big drive. A good looking horse had been secured for him but it was known as the slowest running horse in town. The leader of the party made straight for the sand bar already mentioned. When they arrived at the sand bar, some one said, "Indians!" and pointed at the tracks. Sure enough, the sand bar was covered with these moccasin tracks. While they were looking at the moccasin tracks they heard the "Indians" yell and here they came, charging, shooting and whooping. The hunters started for Dodge, as fast as their horses could run. As they were mounted on good running horses, they soon left the stranger far behind, reaching town more than half a mile ahead of him. The whole town had been informed of the program that was to be pulled off that morning, so many of the people had climbed upon house-tops and other vantage points to see the race. When the stranger got to the edge of the town, he was so disgusted with the poor running of his horse, that he jumped to the ground and struck a bee-line for the Red Dog Saloon, about three hundred yards distant. He just hit a few of the high places—they said he almost flew. He ran into the saloon and never stopped until he got to the rear end of the house. Luke Short ran to him and patted him on the back, saying, "My friend, if ever you run a race I will bet my money on you."

It was a custom of Luke Short's that, when he hired a negro to work for him, the latter was told that he was wanted to work for a certain length of time and that if he were to quit before the time was up he would be killed. About two weeks before Short moved his cattle from Salt Fork, in the spring of 1876, one of his negroes came to our camp and told us that he did wish that Mr. Short would move the cattle up near the Kansas line, as he was afraid that the Osage mourning parties would come and that he was afraid of them. We asked him why he did not quit and go to the states. He said that if he were to quit then, he would be killed, *sure*. Another clause that Short put in the contract with his negro employes was that if they ever called him any other name but "Mr." Short, he would kill them for that also. About a week after this negro was at our camp, Short moved his cattle up near Caldwell. After that I did not hear from him again until four years later, when he brought a herd of cattle from Texas and camped on Skeleton Creek. He had two negroes with him then but not the same he had in 1876. These negroes seemed to be working under the same sort of contract, as I noticed they always said "Mr." Short. In 1888, Short got into trouble in Fort Worth with a noted gambler, named Jim Courtright. Short killed Courtright. I never heard what became of Short after that affair.

LAME DOCTOR

In the winter of 1876, a band of Osages, under the leadership of a chief called Lame Doctor, camped a few miles from our camp. These Osages were renegades and outlaws of the worst kind. We never knew where they came from. They told us that they had not been on their reservation for more than three years. We expected to have trouble with these Indians. We thought they intended to live partly off of our cattle. But they hunted deer and antelopes and did better than we expected. About mid-winter, a part of them moved west and pitched their camp at no great distance from the Salt Plains. That winter a party of hunters from Kansas camped about fifteen miles east of this new Indian camp. There was a boy at this hunters' camp. One day this boy was out hunting alone when three or four of these Osages found him. They took him west with them for several miles and then they took his horse, coat and shoes and left him. The ground was covered with snow but the weather was warm enough to melt snow all night. Instead of trying to get back to his own camp, the boy followed the Indians to their camp, which was not far from where they had left him.

When the boy arrived near the Osage camp, he saw a bunch of their horses. He picked out what looked to be a good horse, took the hobbles off and put them around the animal's neck, mounted him and went back the trail they had come. As it was a starry night, he had no trouble in getting back to his own camp. About a week after this, I was on the south side of the Salt Fork, about half way to Poor Pawnee (Red Rock) Creek, when I met an Osage. I knew he was one of Lame Doctor's men, but he had on a coat and a pair of shoes. I also noticed that the sleeves of his coat were very short—it did not look like it had been made to order—and I had never seen any of Lame Doctor's men wearing coats or shoes before. They wore blankets and moccasins instead. I pointed to his coat and asked him where he got it. He did not say anything but looked at his shoes. It was characteristic of the Osages that, when they had stolen anything and some one came looking for it, that they would keep looking at whatever had been stolen. For instance, if any one went to their horse herds where there was a stolen horse, the Indians would keep watching it. And so, by closely watching the Indians, one could pick out the stolen horse even though one did not otherwise know it to be such. As soon as I saw this Indian look at his shoes, I was satisfied that he was wearing the coat and shoes of the boy from the hunting camp. We both sat there on our horses, looking at each other. I knew the boy had been badly imposed upon and I was sure that this Indian was one of the guilty parties. I was then eighteen years old and had beaten all the Indians on Pond Creek shooting the year before. At one time I had about made up my mind to try my skill on this fellow, but I was afraid we might get into trouble. We had no fear of the Indians but we did not want any trouble with them for fear the soldiers might drive us out and we did not want to give up our fine range. The Indian finally said in very good English, "Me hunt," and then rode on. These were the only words he had spoken.

When I got back to Salt Fork, I saw where two cattle had been running on the sand bar and there were horse tracks following them. I followed the trail a little way but, as it was getting dark, I had to leave it. It was about four miles to camp and I was late getting in. There were three of us, Colonel Dean, my brother Tom and myself. I told them of my meeting the Indian and of the cattle tracks. The next morning Tom went up the river to look after the cattle, while Colonel Dean and I went down stream to follow the trail of the cattle from the point where I had left it the night before. After following it for three or four miles, we found where the cattle had been killed, on the bank of the river, among the cottonwood trees. The Indians had taken the meat and hides but the heads and bones were left. They were not our cattle, as we could see by the heads that one was yellow and the other was brindled. We had no cattle of these colors. These cattle had strayed from a herd that was held on the Chikaskia River, up near the Kansas line. In the spring, Lame Doctor's band left but we never knew where they went.

I always thought that this band of Osages was in the battle of Adobe Walls, in the summer of 1874. This attack was made by renegade Indians of various Western Oklahoma tribes. I always believed that Lame Doctor's band went into Western Oklahoma when it left the Salt Fork. That was the last band of Osages that ever wintered on Salt Fork.

When I was in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, about fifteen years ago, I met a man who told me that he had been in that country a great many years. He also said that the boy from whom the Indians had taken the coat and shoes was his cousin. He also told me that the horse which his cousin had taken from the Indian camp was a very good race horse and that the cousin had won considerable money with it.

BIG SNAKE

As nearly as I can remember, it was about 1878 that the Poncas were located on Salt Fork. Their agency was built at the big spring and not far from where the river empties into the Arkansas. White Eagle was head chief; Big Snake was second chief and Big Black Buffalo Bull was third chief; Colonel Whiteman was their agent. Bat Barnaby was the interpreter but was afterward succeeded by Joe Esau, a Pawnee. The Poncas were a quiet, good natured sort of people, but Big Snake had a rather bad disposition and had caused trouble at different times. Once he persuaded a part of the Poncas to leave their reservation and make a break for their old home in Nebraska. He led this band toward the Cheyenne country, hoping to induce them to join in the break for the north. But Colonel Whiteman sent a runner who beat them to Fort Reno and notified the commander, who ordered out the troops and captured Big Snake and his band before they got to see the Cheyennes.

Big Snake was put in the guard house at Fort Reno and the members of his band were sent back to the Ponca Reservation. Big Snake was kept at Fort Reno for six months and was then sent back to the Ponca Agency. He continued to cause trouble by trying to induce the Poncas to go back to Nebraska, so it was decided to send him back to the guard house again. Lieutenant Mason and ten soldiers attempted to arrest him, but he resisted and a young corporal shot him through the head. This happened in the east room of the old commissary building. In a few hours, the Ponca braves had gathered under White Eagle, armed and mounted on their best horses. The squaws were all crying and were sharpening their butcher knives. Every one thought that there was going to be war and most of the Poncas wanted to fight.

Big Black Buffalo Bull was very much opposed to fighting. He rode his sorrel horse up and down the line between the Indians and the soldiers and harangued as loud as he could yell. He told the Poncas that he knew that they could kill all of the soldiers who were there but he said that other soldiers would come and then the Poncas would be shot down like cattle. He also told them that Big Snake had been a bad man and had caused the Poncas a great deal of trouble. White Eagle did not say a word while Big Black Buffalo Bull was talking—he merely sat on his horse and watched the soldiers and Big Black Buffalo Bull. In fact, he seemed for the time being to have been completely superceded as head chief by Big Black Buffalo Bull. The latter finally prevailed upon the Poncas to disperse. And thus, by the persuasive power of Big Black Buffalo Bull, peace prevailed.

I had seen the soldiers go into the commissary building and I knew that Big Snake was there, but I did not think of serious trouble until I heard the report of the Springfield rifle. It was issue day and Big Snake had come with the other Indians to get their rations. As soon as possible after Big Snake was killed, Colonel Whiteman got a runner out to Arkansas City with a telegram asking for more troops. In three or four days, fifty more soldiers came from Fort Reno. But everything had gotten normal again before they came. These last troops brought three or four cannon with them—the first that I had seen since the Civil War.

The troop camped just north of the big spring and they certainly made themselves at home. Houghton & Sherburne, the traders, had some fat hogs running in the woods. The troops did not arrive until nine o'clock in the morning but they had one of those hogs dressed and cooked for dinner. One day, while I was hitching my horse not far from where the soldiers were camped, I saw an officer shoot one of the hogs, but he did not kill it and it ran off into the woods. I asked him why he was trying to kill that hog and he said, "Whose hog is it?" I told him that it belonged to the men who were running the store. He then went to the store and told Rube Houghton that, while shooting at a tin can, he had accidentally wounded one of his hogs. He said he was willing to pay for the hog. Rube replied that he supposed the hog would recover from the wound. The officer then said that he ought to have to pay for the hog for being such a poor marksman.

THE SUN DANCE

Every summer that I was on the Salt Fork, after the coming of the Poncas, the Indians held their annual "sun dance." The old saying, that "distance lends enchantment to the view," holds good in the case of the sun dance. People used to come some distance to see the sun dance, while men living near by never saw one of these dances, if a dance it might be called, for it was really a test of physical endurance under torture.

Whenever a young Indian became old enough to become a warrior, he was put through the ceremonies of the sun dance to test his mettle. These dances were held during the hottest part of the summer.

A tall pole or post was set in the ground, out on the hot prairie, away from any timber, and to this post long arms or cross pieces were fastened. When everything was ready, ordeal by making two small incisions in his shoulder or the the Indian who was to be a sun dancer was prepared for the upper part of his back, each about an inch long and about an inch apart. Then a stout thong, or cord was passed from one incision to the other, underneath the skin, and securely tied. The other end of the cord was then tied to one of the cross pieces above. The sun dancer would then look at the sun continually and dance and tug at the cord until the skin in the loop of the cord gave way. Sometimes it would require hours of effort before the skin would break or wear out. Sometimes the dancer would faint from gazing at the sun so long, but, after a while, would get up and go on with the dance. Those that fainted but finally broke loose were considered good warriors, but those who broke loose without fainting were considered better.

I was at a sun dance one summer, northeast of the Ponca Agency, when an Indian named Short Man was dancing. He broke loose without fainting, when a mighty shout went up from the crowd. Another Indian, named Fore Top, was also dancing and he, too, broke loose without fainting and the crowd cheered again. But Short Man was not satisfied when he found that Fore Top had done as well as he had done, so, in order to outdo Fore Top, he picked up a hatchet, laid his little finger on a stick of wood and cut it off at the first joint, amid great applause. We then thought that Fore Top would go him one better but he failed to respond—he probably could not see where the thing might end. This dance was held about thirty-six years ago.

I often wonder if the Poncas still hold these sun dances or if the Government put a stop to them as it did to the Indian mode of killing beef cattle. Every Saturday was called "issue day" at the Agency and, on this day the Poncas were issued twelve beeves along with their other rations. During the first two or three years, they killed these cattle like they used to kill the buffalo. The cattle were turned loose on the prairie and there were several Indians with guns, mounted on their best horses, ready to kill the cattle. Nearly every one at the Agency would turn out to see the fun, as it was very exciting sport. As soon as the cattle were turned loose, the Indians would begin to shoot and, as the animals were wild range stock, they were easily scared and away they would go, with the Indians after them, and everyone yelling and cheering them on. Some of the cattle would be killed close by but others would run a mile or more, with three or four Indians after each animal and some of the animals that ran the farthest might receive several bullet wounds before one found a fatal spot. For the time that it lasted the killing of the cattle was more exciting than the sun dance.

But, alas and alack, the Government sent orders to stop the killing of cattle in that way as it was thought to be barbarous. A large corral had been built just south of the Agency and the cattle were driven into this corral and shot only in the head. Of course, no one turned out to see them killed in this way, as it was a very tame affair, compared with the old way.

THE STORY OF JOSEPH

A year or two after the Poncas came, the Nez Perces were located on a reservation just west of the Poncas. Their agency was built not far from the mouth of the Chikashia, on the west side of that river. There were a great many oak trees there and, instead of calling it Nez Perces Agency, it was called the Oakland Agency. Joseph was principal chief of the Nez Perces and Yellow Bull was second chief. James Rubens was their interpreter and Chapman was their agent or, rather, their sub-agent, as the Nez Perces agent was really subject to the orders of the agent of the Poncas.

The Nez Perces chiefs wore large black hats and fine Navajo blankets, which gave them a very picturesque appearance. Joseph was a very fine looking man. Yellow Bull was also a good looking man, but he was a persistent begger. This was a habit which was not characteristic of the Nez Perces, as he was the only one that I ever knew to beg.

The Nez Perces came from Oregon, where they had had two chiefs, Joseph and Lawyer. They had some of the finest land in Oregon. They seemed to think that the Wallowa Valley (which was a part of their ancient dominions) was an improved Garden of Eden. Lawyer and his band wanted to sell a part of these lands and did sell them but Joseph and his band refused to recognize the sale and, rather than do so, they went on the war path. After a long chase, they were finally run down and captured but they did not surrender until most of the men were killed. After they surrendered, all of Joseph's band that survived (like the Kickapoos, mostly women and children) were taken to a place in the Indian Territory near Seneca, Missouri. They were there only a short time until they were taken to their new home on the Chikaskia.

The Nez Perces were the most dissatisfied people that I had ever seen. They said that the grass, the cattle and the deer were better in Oregon than on the Salt Fork. They wanted very much to go back to Oregon. Chapman had been with them since he was a small boy. He ruled them with an iron hand. One day he tied Yellow Bear up by the thumbs for getting drunk. One Nez Perce had a very ugly scar on his face and Chapman said that he had given him that scar several years before, in Oregon.

The Government built the Nez Perces a school house, some dwellings and a church. Joseph said that he liked all the buildings but the church. He said that the Nez Perces always had a religion and that they all believed alike and never quarreled over their religion. He also said that the white people did not all believe alike and that they quarreled over their religion. He did not want the Nez Perces to learn a religion that would make them quarrel.

One night, Chapman was passing a tepee where there were several Indians and he heard them planning to kill him that night. He mounted a horse and went to the Ponca Agency, by way of our camp, and told Colonel Whiteman the situation. Colonel Whiteman sent for the Nez Perce chiefs and they held a council in the east room of the commissary building—the same room in which Big Snake had been killed. The Nez Perces denied having any intention of killing Chapman. But Chapman understood the Nez Perce language as well as he did English and he said that there was no doubt but that they intended to kill him. During the council, James Rubens disputed Chapman's word and Chapman told him that if he did so again there would be a dead Indian in that room. Rubens did not dispute with him any more.

The Nez Perces were a brave people but they were afraid of Chapman. I always thought that they feared that Chapman might kill some of them and that they concluded that they would kill him first and then claim self defense. They never got their trouble settled satisfactorily and Chapman never went back to the Oakland Agency. He returned to Oregon shortly afterward and was a scout at the time the tribes of the Northwest were having their famous ghost dances, ten years later.

Everything comes to them that wait. The Nez Perces were finally allowed to return to their old home in Oregon. Joseph had seen the setting of many suns and he was now getting to be an old man. After seeing a goodly part of the country that the Nez Perces had owned for centuries pass into the possession of the white people, it was more than his proud spirit could bear and he died of a broken heart. And thus passed away one of the greatest Indian chiefs of modern times.

THE WICHITA CHIEF

Before the building of the railroads to Caldwell and Hunnewell, Kansas, most of the fat cattle from the Salt Fork country were driven to Coffeyville for shipment. Most of these herds encountered more or less trouble in getting through the Osage reservation. The cattlemen, of course, were trespassers and the Indians seemed to know it, therefore they always wanted a beef or two for the privilege of driving the cattle through their country. The worst place was in the hills near where old Big Heart lived.

About the year 1879, Ed Hewins, Eli Titus and Captain C. H. Stone purchased twenty-seven hundred head of fat cattle from Bill Williams and old George Washington, the Caddo chief. They took Bill Conner, an educated Osage along to help get these cattle through the Osage country. I had helped Captain Stone to get cattle through the Osage country two different times during the previous season and so, when they got near the Arkansas River (which was the boundary of the Osage reservation) he sent a man to get me to help get this herd through. After we had passed through all of the country in which we thought there were very many Indians, Bill Conner left us. The next morning, Captain Stone and Ed Hewins left the herd and that day, at noon, we camped on a little creek. There a band of Osages came to the herd. They

Titus told them that we would not give them any beeves. They then began to act in a threatening manner, as if they intended to take the beeves by force. There was a thicket of small bushes that grew on the creek and we took our knives and each cut one of these saplings. They were just of the right size to handle nicely and they looked as if they had been made purposely for war clubs. The Indians were more afraid of these clubs than they were of our guns. They knew that we would shoot only in an extreme case. They also knew that we would knock them over with these clubs on a slight provocation. We finally drove them off and proceeded on our journey. That evening we camped on Caney River, near the big mound, the sun being still two or three hours high. We had not been there long when Bill Conner came into camp, as he lived on the Caney. He stayed until after dark. He told us that, several years before, a white man had camped upon the same spot where our camp was and that he and some other Osages stole his horses while the man lay asleep in his wagon. He said that nearly every time they did mischief of this kind they heard some one talking about it afterward but that they never heard anyone say anything about these horses having been stolen.

Conner also told us about leading a mourning party; it must have been about 1871. He was then second chief of the tribe and his ambition was to be the head chief of the Osages. An Osage had died and Conner organized a mourning party. They crossed the Arkansas River and went west. They put in several days in the Pond Creek country and in the country south of the Medicine Lodge River, but they did not see anyone. They then went on out into Western Oklahoma. One night they camped in a deep draw. When they were ready to leave camp the next morning, one of the Osages went to bring in the horses. He soon came running back, saying that a strange Indian was hunting buffalo, just over the hill. The Osages slipped around and shot him. Then they saw an Indian boy close by, but this boy saw them and ran. The Osages knew that it would not do to let this boy get away, as he would spread the alarm, so three of them, who were mounted on the best horses, took after him. They chased him three or four miles but could not catch him. The three Osages had good horses but the boy had a good horse, too. The three Osages then went back to where they had killed the strange Indian wanted two beeves as toll for allowing the herd to go through. and told the other members of their band that they had failed to catch the fugitive. There was, therefore, only one thing for the whole party to do then and that was to get out of that country as fast as they could.

The three Osages had run the boy almost into a large camp of Cheyennes and Wichitas, though they did not know it at the time they abandoned the chase. In a few hours one hundred and fifty Cheyennes and Wichitas were after them. The Indian they had killed was a Wichita chief and the one they had chased was his son. Conner said there never were Indians that ran as they did. They ran day and night and the Cheyennes and Wichitas were right after them. When they reached the Arkansas River, some of the Osages were afoot, their horses having played out. The pursuers were so close that, when the Osages had crossed the river and were yet on the sand bar, they could see the Cheyennes and Wichitas coming down the west bank into the river.

There was a small Osage camp near by and Conners' party ran to this camp. The Wichitas and Cheyennes surrounded this camp and demanded the leader of the party or fifteen hundred dollars. The first thing the Osages tried to do was to get a runner out. They knew that, if they could get a runner out, in a few hours they could have two or three hundred Osages there. A runner tried to slip through the lines several times but the allies turned him back every time. They parleyed for a long time—at one time a majority of the members of the party were in favor of giving Conner up but he said that he made the best talk of his life and that, finally, by giving up all the money there was in camp, and their horses, they satisfied the Wichitas and Cheyennes, who took their booty and departed for their camp in Western Oklahoma. The reason that they let the Osages off so easily was that they were afraid that, if they did much damage, a strong party of Osages would follow them. They could have easily killed all of the Osages in that camp but neither they nor their horses were in shape to make another long run like the one they had just finished.

Conner said that, if his party could have gotten away after killing the Wichita chief, he would have had no trouble in getting to be head chief of the Osages but that the raid had not been a success, as they had been caught and Conner lost the title of second chief and was reduced to the ranks.

THE PANTHERS

During my nine years' sojourn on the Salt Fork and the Cimarron, I never saw a live panther, but I heard them scream or yell several times and I have seen their tracks quite often. Other game, such as wild turkey, deer and antelope, was quite plentiful and every little while we would see a bob-cat. Late one evening, on the south side of the Cimarron, I saw what I supposed to be an elk and, on my way to camp, I met a Sac and Fox Indian and told him that I had seen an elk a short distance to the south. He then told me that he had seen it the day before and that he was hunting for it then. I never saw or heard of it any more. In 1874 and 1875, we saw a great many elk horns on the Salt Fork and on Pond Creek, which showed that they had been quite plentiful there at one time. In the spring of 1875, we saw large flocks of sea gulls along the sand bars of the Salt Fork. There were thousands of them. We expected to see them again the next spring but we never saw them afterward. Why they should come to visit that country just one time was something that we could never understand.

About the year 1881, there was a hunters' camp on Red Rock Creek. These hunters had a pack of hounds with which they ran down and killed two panthers.

In 1881, a company of soldiers came to our camp on the Cimarron River and said that they had orders to clear everybody out of Oklahoma. They said we were twelve miles south of the Cherokee Strip. These cattle belonged to Joe Sherburne and myself. I moved the camp about a mile from the river but did not move the cattle. I knew that the soldiers did not care for us being there—I had seen them so many times that we got very well acquainted. It was only Captain Payne and the settlers that they were after. That summer my brother John saw a panther not more than two hundred yards from our camp. The next winter, an Otoe Indian was hunting on Red Rock Creek when he saw a pile of leaves and grass stacked up. He began to scratch into it to see what was there and found that there was a dead cow covered up in the leaves and grass. As he was stooping to look at it, a panther jumped on his back and jerked his blanket off. The Otoe jumped forward, leaving the panther holding the blanket, and then the panther ran and the Otoe did not get a shot at it.

A few months after the adventure of the Otoe with the panther, I was riding along a small creek on the north side of the Cimarron River, when I saw a stack of grass that looked like a shock of hay. I dismounted to see what I had found and, giving the stack a kick, I saw that there was a dead yearling covered up there. As soon as I saw the yearling, I thought about the Otoe and began to look around but I could not see any panther. Then I remounted my horse and followed on down the creek about a mile, looking into every thicket as I passed. I then came back to the dead yearling and passed up the creek, examining every place where I thought anything might hide, but I could not find any panther. He had scraped the ground clean around the dead yearling. I could see the marks of his claws on the ground. It looked like some one had raked up the dead grass with a garden rake. I do not think the panther had killed the yearling—it had probably died a natural death—but I have no doubt but that the panther covered it up. It was probably done to keep the buzzards away or, it may have been his way of filing a claim to it.

THE WILD HORSES

In the fall of 1880, Joe Sherburne (the trader at Ponca Agency) and myself put in a cattle camp on the Cimarron River. There was no other camp on the Cimarron at that time, as it was a rougher country and not so good for stock as the Salt Fork, so the cattlemen had not flocked to it like they did to the Salt Fork country. This camp was a mile or two below the mouth of Skeleton Creek and near a trail made by Captain Payne and his Oklahoma "boomers." A party of hunters followed our trail in and camped near us. They had two wagons and they said they were going to stay a week. The first thing they did was to kill their wagons full of turkeys. Then the weather turned warm and, by the time they were ready to go home, the turkeys had spoiled. The two wagon loads of turkeys were then thrown out on the ground. The wastefulness of it reminded me of the dead buffalo which I had seen in Western Texas, in 1877. I protested against the way they were doing. They said they were sorry it had occurred and that they did not think about it turning warm. When they got ready to leave, they killed a lot more but not as many as they had killed at first.

When we first put in this camp, we would see wild horses every few days but they were wilder than the antelope. They had two ranges—one on the Cimarron and the other on Black Bear Creek. Different outfits of cow-boys had tried to catch these wild horses in 1880 and 1881, but they failed. There was a bay stallion with them and, after the men had run them for an hour or two, this stallion would always get in behind the wild horses and run them so fast that the men could not keep in sight of them. At one time, a party of Pawnees tried to catch these wild horses. They ran them nearly all day and, late in the evening, one Pawnee who was mounted on a fresh horse, took a near cut and rode right among the wild horses. He threw his rope and caught one and held it for a while but, when the other Pawnees came up, the wild horse got so badly scared that he jerked his captor's horse down and, in the mix-up, the Pawnee's neck was broken.

In the fall of 1881, we sold the cattle to Ed Hewins. My brother John and I then decided to try to catch the wild horses. The first thing we did was to shoot the wild stallion and that was no easy job. I crawled on my hands and knees for a long time before I got a shot at him. As soon as I had fired, the horses went off like a flash, and the stallion with them. They did not run very far, however, before the stallion began to lag behind and, as he was carrying his head low, I knew he had been hit, for he always carried his head very high when disturbed. I then went to where I had left my brother John. When I got there, he had built a fire. We had six good saddle horses and a pack horse and we stayed all night on this little creek. The next morning we rode to the top of a hill from which we could see the wild horses, but the stallion was not with them. I took the first run, Brother John relieving me about ten o'clock. I took the horses again about two o'clock.

Our plans were not to run the horses if we could help it but, during my first drive that morning, I had to run most of the time in order to keep in sight of them. Our aim was to go slow and wear them out by not letting them eat or sleep. John took them the first night. The moon was shining brightly all night, so they were easily followed. The next day we moved our pack and saddle horses to Tom Hutton's camp, on Black Bear Creek. By the afternoon of the second day, the horses were getting very tired and we could ride close to them. I relieved my brother late that evening and, between sundown and dark, Tom Hutton came to me and rode quite a distance with me. He said that he was sorry that he had to go to Caldwell the next morning, as he believed that we were going to catch the horses and he wanted to see the fun. He also told me that he had been at a certain camp on Red Rock Creek that afternoon and that the boys at that camp had told him that they were going to watch John and I the next day and that, when we had gotten the horses tired out, they were going to run in and rope a horse apiece. He said that he had told them that he did not know of a better way for them to get into a fight. They must have thought better of it afterward, for they never came.

About sunrise the next morning, I could see John on a hill, looking for me. When he came, I went to camp. Late that afternoon, we ran them to Hutton's saddle horses. The saddle horses started for the corral and we had the wild horses in the corral almost before they knew it. We had stayed with them two nights and three days. We took them to Arkansas City and sold them all but one.

POND CREEK

We first camped on Pond Creek in the fall of 1874. There was something wild and weird about this creek and this something seemed to be lacking with the other numerous creeks upon which we had camped. It looked like a deserted village. There were numerous signs of its having been a great camping place for the Indians. There were old ash heaps and the remains of old tepee frames and many burying grounds. On the bank of the creek, near where the Black Dog Trail crossed it, was a lonely grave. A chiefs' daughter had been buried there. The remains of these Indians laid in these graves for many moons undisturbed and unstartled by the yell of the fierce Pawnee, but it was not to be forever thus. With the opening of the Cherokee Strip, a stranger appeared in the garb of the white man and, today, this pale-faced stranger tills the soil unmindful of the fact that his fields contain lands that, to the Indians, were hallowed grounds. Moreover, this Pond Creek farmer never thinks with the poet who says:

"Behind the squaw's light birch canoe
The Steamer rocks and waves
And City lots are staked for sale
Above old Indian graves."

Pond Creek afforded good timber and water, neither of which were to be found on its near neighbor, the Salt Fork. But the two together furnished the best all-the-year cattle range that I have ever seen, before or since. And then there was the beautiful mirage! These mirages appeared at their best on a sunny morning after a rain, in the early spring time. We used to go out on the flat between Pond Creek and Salt Fork and gaze in wonderment complete at these mirages. There would appear sparkling lakes encircled with beautiful groves of timber. We could see in the distance some of Hopkins' cattle and these cattle looked like they were seventy-five feet high. Old Buffalo bones looked like covered wagons. I have often wondered what we would have done had an Osage war party of twenty or thirty Indians had appeared in one of these mirages, showing the Indians to be a hundred feet in height and carrying guns fifty feet in length! In all probability, I would have said to Colonel Dean and Brother Tom that "it is getting late and we had better be going."

There were several human skulls lying around in different places. These skulls seemed to be of two kinds. One kind had a seam running from the front, or forehead, to the back. The others had the same seam, only it forked and made two seams near the back of the head. We supposed that one kind was that of an Indian man and the other that of an Indian woman. They had probably been dug from the graves by the wolves. We killed a great many wolves the two winters we camped on Pond Creek and, among them, we got two fine specimens of the black wolf. These black wolves were of the same size as the gray wolves. We sometimes thought that, instead of being a distinct species, they were merely sports or phases of the gray wolf, as they seemed to differ only in color.

We always had from four to six saddle horses to each man. We soon learned that horses were cheaper than men. Three men, well mounted, will do as much riding as five men can do with poor mounts. There were always lots of horses and few men at our camp.

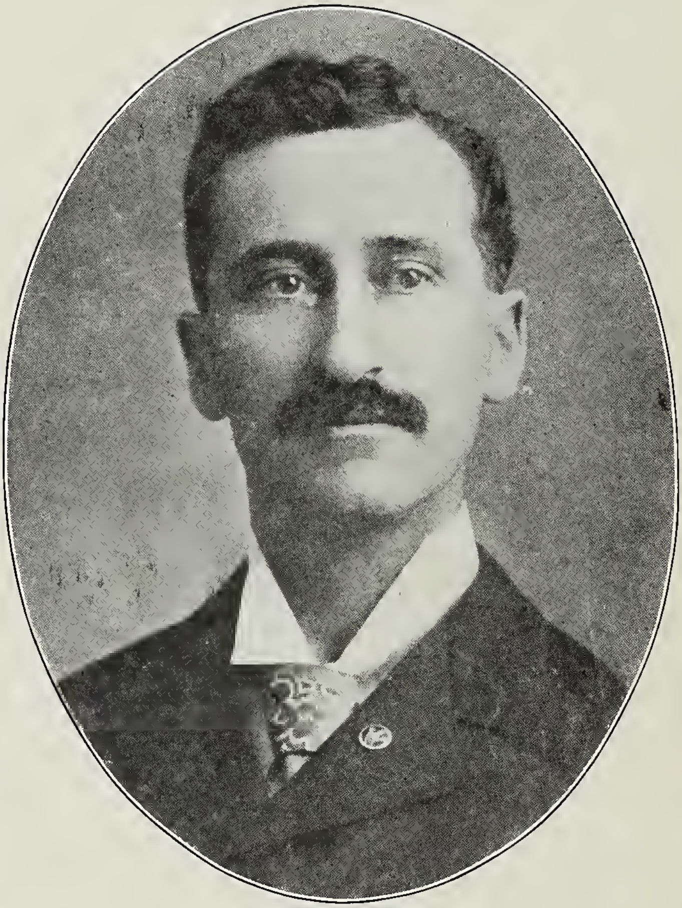
In the spring we would have some great chases after young antelope. The longest chase of this kind that I was ever on was with Colonel Dean. When we first saw this antelope, we thought it too old to try to catch, but we concluded we would warm him up a little, anyhow. We ran it for a long time and we changed horses every chance we had. One would run, while the other waited on a hill with a fresh horse. I was running it about two miles south of where Colonel Dean was standing on a hill. I was crowding it very closely when it tried to hide by dropping down in the tall grass and I jumped off my horse and caught it. Colonel Dean said that he could see me jump off my horse and he knew that I had caught the antelope.

Colonel Dean was a remarkable man. He came to that country, right out of the wheat pit, at Chicago, wearing a silk hat and fine clothes. But, in a few weeks, he was transformed into a genuine westerner. He could adjust himself to different conditions as easily as any man I ever knew. He was cautious but fearless—in fact, fear and he never kept company. He would tell us boys not to provoke trouble with the Indians but this was not through fear. Colonel Dean's interest was there, as he owned about four hundred head of fine cattle, and it behooved him to preserve peace on the Salt Fork. He was a very pleasant spoken man but, when he got mad, he was a good cusser also. The first winter we stayed on Pond Creek, he had a very large cur dog and, during that winter, brother Tom and I witnessed many disagreements between the Colonel and this old dog. The dog's real name was "Spot," but the Colonel had sworn at him so much that the dog thought it was G— d—!

Colonel Dean sold out his interest on Salt Fork in 1883. He afterward received an appointment in the U. S. Department of Agriculture, with headquarters at Kansas City. When President McKinley was choosing his cabinet, in 1897, several western newspapers advocated the appointment of Colonel Dean as secretary of Agriculture. However, Colonel Dean was no politician and he made no effort in his own behalf, so the appointment went to another man.

In 1877, my oldest brother (Tom) and I took a trip into Western Texas to hunt buffalo. We were gone three months and then came back to the Salt Fork. The following summer, Brother Tom started to Arkansas City on a visit. Before he reached the state line, he overtook a herd of cattle that was being driven into Western Kansas. Some of the men were trying to rope a steer. Tom took his rope and caught the steer at the first throw. The boss saw that Tom was an expert with the rope and began talking with him. He soon found that Tom was acquainted with the country, so he persuaded Tom to go with them to Western Kansas. Tom finally told the boss that he would go to Arkansas City first and that he would overtake them the next morning. He sent word to me that he would be back in three or four weeks. I have never heard a word from him since the day that he left to pilot this herd of cattle into Western Kansas.

About the time this herd would have reached its destination, Dull Knife and his band of Northern Cheyennes made their break for the Black Hills. On their way northward they passed through the country to which Tom was going. They killed a great many people in Western Kansas. Some people saw them and went to them in the belief that they were only a band of hunters and all of these were killed. I kept thinking for a long time that Tom would come back but it has been thirty-nine years this last summer since he left and I have long since given him up as having been killed during the Dull Knife raid. And so, of Colonel Dean and us three boys who rode the Salt Fork and Cimarron ranges together, I am the only one who is known to be living. John and Colonel Dean have passed over the Great Divide and Tom, where is he?



Jerome S. Workman

AN INCIDENT IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF DEWEY COUNTY.

The Stillwater Gazette of May 8, 1892, carried this item:

"Judge Jerome S. Workman, probate judge of "D" County, in the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, rode in from Taloga yesterday. He had finished taking filings on town lots and came home to look after business matters."

Had J. E. Sater, the editor of the Gazette, had a keener nose for news and had Judge Workman less modesty, he might have added another sentence something like this: "He had played hide and seek with the Dalton gang on the way," but Sater had more than a county wide reputation for brevity of expression and didn't believe in wasting space. Since the story was not told then and has not been to this day, to my certain knowledge, I believe that it still deserves a place among the thrilling incidents of the early days. But before I start I should introduce Judge Workman as he was then.

He was twenty-seven years old, just a boy in years, but with a back-ground founded on an unusual training. Life for him on a Kansas farm, at the age of sixteen, became too tame and he went west and "joined on" as a cowboy on one of the big ranches that in those days spotted the West, from the Rio Grande to the Canadian border. For four years he played a part in the strenuous business of riding the range from Texas to Montana. At twenty he took stock of himself and decided that he was getting nowhere. Having saved his money, he went to Lawrence, Kansas, entered the University, and four years later left there with a lawyer's degree. He came to Oklahoma and settled at Stillwater, forming a law partnership with Frank J. Wikoff, until recently president of the Tradesmen's National Bank, Oklahoma City.

When the Cheyenne and Arapaho country was opened to settlement, April 19, 1892, he was appointed probate judge of "D" County by Governor A. J. Seay. There you have some notion of his equipment for meeting the conditions confronting one pioneer. How he could ride! And how he could shoot! What horses he owned—two of the finest specimens of saddle horse it has ever been my lot to see. The courage of the man—twice I had occasion to observe him in those finger-on-the-trigger situations—was something infinitely fine.

On the day of the run, April 19, 1892, as trustee of the Government, Workman entered the 320 acre townsite of Taloga, which had been laid off by government surveyors, opened his office in a tent and began taking filings on town lots. A great crowd swarmed over the country and finally centered at Taloga. Each person was entitled to file on two business lots and, as I recall it, as many as six residence lots. Business was brisk and the fees, which were almost wholly cash, came in rapidly. Within a week, there being no bank within seventy-five miles, the matter of being his own bank vault, and everything, became burdensome and rather dangerous. During the first days practically every member of the original Dalton gang, then at its peak, filed on lots, using fictitious names, presumably to get a line on the probable amount of money the judge was gathering in. Fortunately, Workman knew these men and, being a young man of more than ordinary judgment, kept the fact discreetly to himself. He did, however, divide large sums of money among a few of the boys who were his friends. Many methods were used to safeguard it until such time as it could be taken to a bank.

It was a wild country, out in Dewey county, in those days. Reckless men, to use a mild term, came there from many sections of the United States, seeking adventure, many more of them than sought to make new homes. This type eventually passed on, leaving the hardy and courageous to establish civilization.

In about two weeks the crowd faded away, business became slack and early one morning Judge Workman gathered his money in a bag and, mounted on "Lou," a magnificent black horse, a horse of such outstanding points that up to this time the judge was best known because of the horse, left to ride to Stillwater, a distance of 120 miles, the first fifty without settlements, except the old Mennonite Indian Mission at the abandoned military post known as Cantonment, near the present town of Canton. He was feeling happy, believing that he had gotten away without being observed by any of the members of the Dalton gang, who still hung about. Maybe he did, but when he emerged from the little Indian mission at Cantonment, thirty miles on his way, where he had stopped for lunch, they were waiting for him out in front. There they were—Bob, Grat, Bill Powers and one other whose name I have forgotten. Workman grasped the situation and, without hesitation, walked over to them and addressing Bill Powers, who stood nearest, asked if he could direct him to the Strip line trail leading east, that he was going that way and was unacquainted with the country. Bill could, and did. With his finger in the sand, sitting on his toes, cowboy fashion, he outlined the trail so clearly that it could not be mistaken. Workman thanked Bill, slowly saddled his horse, and just as slowly rode away.

The Mission stood on the south bank of the North Canadian river, among the trees. To the east of it, a short distance and on the opposite side of the river, a tree-bordered ravine came down from the north. The pursued rider with his clothes full of money, as soon as out of sight over the hill, turned and doubled back down this ravine practically to the river and then made his way east across the country, keeping out of sight under the hills that lay between him and the gang that was following the Strip line trail. Something like an hour later, he rode to the top of a hill to take observations and saw them about two miles to the north and traveling in a long trot strung out along the trail. Workman quickly got back out of sight and continued his way east, protecting himself by taking advantage of the natural obstructions the country afforded.

Another hour passed and he observed them again a considerable distance ahead of him. They were standing in a group, evidently holding a conference. Again he quickly ducked out of their range of vision and continued his way, keeping the hills and trees between him and the gang as much as possible. A short time later he observed one of the men coming in his direction, evidently having been detailed to make a search for him. As he came into sight the distance between the two riders was perhaps 300 yards. The cow path Workman was following branched to the right about halfway between them. Again Workman demonstrated his superior judgment. Speeding up his horse and getting his gun ready for action he beat the other man to this fork in the path and turned to the right with the intention of opening fire should the other man attempt to head him off. Instead of doing this the outlaw turned his horse and returned the way he came at full speed.

The country in this section is rolling and spotted with blackjack and other trees, and it was a difficult matter to make way without being observed, especially to a man who was inexperienced in riding unsettled country and unaccustomed to reading its surface and using this knowledge to guide him.

It was approaching sundown when he reached the river east of the site of the present town of Okeene. The small bluff on the west side, where the road crossed provided an excellent waiting place for Bob and his bunch and, in relating the incident to me, Workman said he felt certain they were there and that he had made up his mind to avoid the crossing, when he overtook a wagon load of Hennessey negroes who had been hunting quail in the new country.

Conversation with them was struck up at once and, following Workman's story that he had crossed the river at this point a few evenings previously, and that a fine bunch of wild turkeys were watering there, several of them acted on the suggestion and substituted buckshot for the birdshot in their guns. As they drove down into the river Workman had pulled his horse up on the left hand side of the wagon, keeping it between him and the bluff.

The members of the gang were there, with guns ready for action, but the presence of the negroes threw a monkey-wrench into the machinery of their plans. They hesitated; Bob Dalton was sore by this time, having been outwitted once before, and was for taking a chance on holding up the whole bunch. Other members of the gang dissuaded him, however, but not until he had flung his hat on the ground and jumped on it. Evidently they decided they would get that nice little bundle of money later on. Something approaching $10,000 in real money was an important item in those lean days.

Riding on ahead of the wagon, Workman reached the opposite bank about the time the gang was a third of the way over. He took the time to dismount, tighten the saddle girth preparatory to a long, hard ride, and gave the boys the high sign to come on. He mounted and went away from there under full speed, his horse apparently as fresh as if the forty miles already covered did not count. The horsemen following forced their horses into as high speed as they could make in the shallow water of the river and raced after him.

The timber and low hills hid him from view and before going a mile he turned abruptly up a grassy ravine and quickly was out of sight of the road. He camped that night with a home-seeker who was traveling through the country and had just made camp for the night.

The next morning Workman had seventy miles yet to go and a possible menace in every mile. The fact that the robbers were in the lead made the trip anything but a pleasant ride. But Workman rode into Stillwater the evening of that same day, with his horse in good condition.

It was evident, from events that occurred that night and the following day, that they were outwitted again and followed the road east until late, thinking to eventually overtake a man who apparently knew so little of the endurance of a horse as to put it under full speed at the end of a long day. They were sure to overtake a worn-out horse and a foolish rider before he could cover that seventy miles.

Having missed him, and the nice fat wad of money that he carried, they compromised by holding up the Santa Fe train at Wharton, in the Cherokee Strip, near the site of Perry, that night, when they robbed the passengers and killed the station agent, a mere boy, who was holding a lonely job in the wilderness, if prairie country may be called such. The next day they killed a deputy United States marshal, who was a member of a party which attempted their capture, in a fight in the Otoe country, north of Stillwater.

In the evening of the same day a spring wagon, containing the body of this deputy marshal, drew up at the rear door of Ollie Stevenson's undertaking parlor, in Stillwater, and Workman, from his office window not thirty feet away, watched as it was carried inside. He said aloud to himself, "It wasn't your time, Mr. Workman."

Hundreds of old timers will recall Workman with pleasure, his fine qualities and his disposition to be square with his fellowmen. Later he served with distinction in the War with Spain, as county attorney of Payne County, as a railroad attorney and builder in Washington, and he now is a resident of Oregon, where he has retired on a farm near Woodburn. I remember him gratefully, for he was more than a brother in those early stirring days of my boyhood, and my roommate for five years. And yet, it was characteristic of the man that he should have mentioned to me but once the tale that I have just told. It was all in the day's work. I'll bet he has forgotten it.

Frank D. Northup.

"SOME CORRECTIONS OF 'LIFE ON THE PLAINS.'"

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

One of the chief sources of information concerning the military operations in western Oklahoma in the latter part of 1868 and the early part of 1869, now commonly known as the Washita Campaign, is the personal narrative of Brevet Major General George A. Custer, lieutenant colonel of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, who was in active command of the troops in the field, though accompanied by Major General Philip H. Sheridan, who was then in command of the military Department of the Missouri. General Custer's narrative was first published serially in a magazine called "The Galaxy." In the latter part of 1874, it was issued in book form under the title of "My Life on the Plains." This book, which has since been reprinted, had an extensive circulation.

General Custer was severe in his criticisms and strictures concerning Indian peace policies and civilian Indian agents and, with the Indian service always more or less honeycombed with partizan politics, it was not strange that crooked and incompetent officials were sometimes found in such positions. Unfortunately for his standing as a fair-minded writer, however, General Custer undertook to include in his category of untrustworthy Indian agents no less person than Brevet Major General William B. Hazen, colonel of the 6th U. S. Infantry, who, at the time of the Washita Campaign, was serving under assignment as a special U. S. Indian agent, being stationed at Fort Cobb, on the Washita River.

That there was a clash of opinion between Generals Sheridan and Custer, on the one hand, and General Hazen, on the other, at the time and on the ground, is plainly evident. That feelings of resentment still rankled in General Custer's heart, more than five years later, is attested by the text of his narrative. It was but natural that, smarting under what he regarded as an unfair imputation, General Hazen should have resorted to the issuance of a pamphlet, setting forth a statement in defense of his official policy and record as a military officer on duty under assignment as a special Indian agent.* This he did, a few months after the serial publication of General Custer's narrative and before the latter had been published in book form. Inasmuch as the contents of General Custer's narrative have had a much more extensive circulation than those of General Hazen's pamphlet and, as the last mentioned document is not nearly so readily available for many students of a most interesting phase of local history in Oklahoma, as it should be, it seems well to republish it after the lapse of more than half a century. The statement thus set forth by General Hazen follows. J. B. T.

*"Some Corrections of 'Life on the Plains'," by Gen. W. B. Hazen, U. S. A., Colonel 6th Infantry, St. Paul, Minn., Ramaley & Cunningham, Printers, 1874.

In his article published in "The Galaxy" of February, 1874, General Custer has referred to my part in the operations at Fort Cobb during his Indian campaign of 1868-69, in a manner which cannot be overlooked.

His exceptionally-brilliant record, his fame, which was so justly and splendidly earned, and the long and admiring acquaintance which I have had with him, makes it impossible for me to believe that he could intentionally write or speak otherwise than with perfect regard for the truth and justice.

But he erred greatly in his statement that the Kiowa Indians, as a tribe, were in the battle of the Washita, and that I was wrong in not permitting his command, twenty days after, to fall upon them—men, women and children, and destroy them, when gathered together in promised security under my charge.

I do not suppose there are many people who care to know whether the Kiowa Indians were in that battle or not; yet there are some who are interested in these matters, who have taken special notice of this statement, and look to me to clear it up and vindicate the truth. It is to be regretted that this has become necessary, yet there has existed for the past six years a mischievous error upon that point, which it is desirable to rectify.

On the arrival of General Custer's troops, accompanied by Major General Sheridan, at Fort Cobb, the 18th day of December, 1868, I saw at once that they held me accountable for seriously marring the success of their operations by warning them, two days previously, that the Indians between themselves and my camp were settled under my peaceful protection, while at the same time I indicated where the hostiles might be found. Their opinions, that the Kiowas had fought them at the battle of Washita, were so firmly fixed that I thought it both futile and unwise to endeavor then to correct their impressions, and, since that time, had decided never to open the subject, hoping that in time it might all be forgotten. But this account by General Custer, which, although attributing to me no wrong intent, conveys the impression that I was weakly deceived, that I had fallen into the evil ways of Indian agents, ignorant of their business, guided by narrow selfishness, and had proved myself generally unfit for my trust, while it has been intimated that my report to them greatly injured the interests of the public. This is also soon to be put in more permanent form of a published volume.

The provocation has been great to call for a hearing upon the same matter before, but now it seems necessary. Fortunately the task is not difficult. In order that the case may have its fullest bearing, and the blame attached to my name may be fully known, I will give the endorsement made by the Lieutenant General of the Army in June, 1872, referring to this matter, addressed to the Adjutant General of the Army, and published in the newspapers of the country. It is as follows:

> "Had it not been for Colonel Hazen, who represented that these Indians were friendly when I followed their trail, without missing it for a moment, from the battle of the Washita until I overtook them, the Texas frontier would be in a better condition than now, and we would be free from embarrassment."
>
> "He seems to have forgotten in his recent newspaper communication, when he censures the Government for not chastising those Indians (The Kiowas) that when I had my sabers drawn to do it, he pronounced them, in the name of the Peace Commissioners, friendly."

I think the following pages will show that my conduct in the act referred to, did not merit the above endorsement.

The objectionable portion of General Custer's account as refers to me, is as follows:

> "At daylight on the following morning the entire command started on the trail of the Indian villagers, nearly all of which had moved down the Washita toward Fort Cobb, *where they had good reasons to believe they would receive protection.*"
>
> "The Arapahoes and remaining band of Cheyennes left the Washita Valley and moved across in the direction of Red River. After following

the trail of the Kiowas and other hostile Indians for seven days, over an almost impassable country, where it was necessary to keep two or three hundred men almost constantly at work with picks, axes and spades, before being able to advance with our immense wagon train, my Osage scouts came galloping back on the morning of the 17th of December, and reported a party of Indians in our front, bearing a flag of truce.

"It is to this day such a common occurrence for Indian agents to assert in positive terms that the particular Indians of their agency have not been absent from their reservation, nor engaged in making war upon the white men, when the contrary is well known to be true, that I deem it proper to introduce one of the many instances of this kind which have fallen under my observation, as an illustration not only of how the public, in distant sections of the country, may be misled and deceived as to the acts and intentions of the Indians, but also of the extent to which the Indian agents themselves will proceed in attempting to shield and defend the Indians of their particular agency. Sometimes of course the agent is the victim of deception, and no doubt conscientiously proclaims that which he firmly believes; but I am forced, by long experience to the opinion that instances of this kind are rare, being the exception rather than the rule. The example to which I refer, the high character and distinction as well as the deservedly national reputation achieved by the official then in charge of the Indians against whom we were operating, will at once absolve me from the imputation of intentionally reflecting on the integrity of his action in the matter. The only point to occasion surprise is how an officer possessing the knowledge of the Indian character, derived from an extensive experience on the frontier, which General Hazen could justly claim to, *should be so far misled as to give the certificate of good conduct which follows.* General Hazen had not only had superior opportunities for studying the Indian character, but had participated in Indian wars, and at the very time he penned the following note he was partly disabled from the effects of an Indian wound. The government had selected him from the large number of intelligent officers of high rank, whose services were available for the position, and had assigned him with plenary powers to the superintendency of the Southern Indian District, a position in which almost the entire control of all the southern tribes was vested in the occupant. If gentlemen of the experience and military education of General Hazen, occupying the intimate and official relation to the Indians which he did, *could be so readily and completely deceived as to their real character*, it is not strange that the mass of the people living far from the scene of operations, and only possessing such information as reaches them in scraps through the public press, and generally colored by interested parties, should at times entertain extremely erronious impressions regarding the much-vexed Indian question. Now to the case in point:

"With the Osage scouts who came back from the advance with the intelligence that a party of Indians were in front, also came a scout who stated that he was from Fort Cobb, and delivered to me a dispatch, which read as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS SOUTHERN INDIAN DISTRICT,
Fort Cobb, 9 p. m., Dec. 16, 1868.

"To the Officer commanding troops in the field:

"Indians have just brought in word that our troops today reached the Washita some twenty miles above here. I send this to say that all the camps this side of the point reported to have been reached, are friendly, and have not been on the warpath this season. If this reaches you, it would be well to communicate at once with Satanta or Black Eagle, chiefs of the Kiowas, near where you now are, who will readily inform you of the position of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, also of my camp.

"Respectfully,
(Signed) "W. B. HAZEN,
"Bvt. Major General."

"Aside, however, from the question as to what their present intentions were at this time, how deserving were those Indians of the character of good behavior which they had been shrewd enough to obtain? This certificate was dated December 16th, and stated that the camps had not been on the warpath this season.

"What were the facts? On the 27th of November, only 21 days prior to the date of this certificate, the same Indians, whose peaceable character was vouched for so strongly, had engaged in a battle with my command by attacking it during the fight with Black Kettle. It was in their camp that the bodies of the murdered mother and child were found, and we had followed day by day the trail of the Kiowas and other tribes, leading us directly from the dead and mangled bodies of our comrades, slain by them a few days previous, until we were about to overtake and punish the guilty parties, when the above communication was received, some 40 or 50 miles from Fort Cobb, in the direction of the Washita battlefield.

"This, of itself, was conclusive evidence of the character of the tribes we were dealing with; but aside from these incontrovertible facts, had additional evidence been needed of the openly-hostile conduct of the Kiowas and Comanches, and of their active participation in the battle of the Washita, it is only necessary to refer to the collected testimony of Black Eagle and other leading chiefs. This testimony was written, and was then in the hands of the agent of the Indian Bureau. It was given voluntarily by the Indian chiefs referred to, and was taken down at the time by the Indian agents, not for the army, or with a view of furnishing it to officers of the army, but simply for the benefit and information of the Indian Bureau. This testimony, making due allowance for the concealment of much that would be prejudicial to the interests of the Indians, plainly states that the Kiowas and Comanches took part in the battle of the Washita; that the former constituted a portion of the war party whose trail I followed, and which led my command into Black Kettle's village; and that some of the Kiowas remained in Black Kettle's village until the morning of the battle.

"This evidence is all contained in a report made to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs by one Philip McCusker, United States Interpreter for the Kiowa and Comanche tribes. This report was dated Fort Cobb, December 3, while the communication from General Hazen, certifying to the friendly disposition and conduct of these tribes, was dated at the same place thirteen days later, Mah-wis-sa also confirmed these statements, and pointed out to me, when near the battleground, the location of Satanta's village."

In order to fully understand this question, it is necessary to explain my relations to the Indians congregated at Fort Cobb, and my duties there.

In the autumn of 1868 I was assigned in the interest of the Peace Commission, by General Sherman, to the charge of all the wild Indians in the region of country south of Kansas. The Kiowas (about three-fourths of the tribe) some Comanches, the Arapahoes and Cheyennes were concentrated near Fort Larned, Kansas. The latter two tribes had commenced hostilities, which General Sheridan, then in command of the Department of the Missouri, was anxious to chastise, while the Kiowas and Comanches professed to be peaceful. To separate them from the tribes known to be hostile, was an important step, and very desirable, if they could be kept out of the impending hostilities. On the 18th of September I met General Sheridan, by his invitation, at Fort Larned, Kansas, for the purpose of holding interviews with those Indians, and on the 19th and 20th very full councils were held, all the principal chiefs of the Kiowas there congregated, being present, which ended in an arrangement for them to go to Fort Cobb with me and remain near there and keep out of the fight. The following is General Sheridan's proposition on the subject.

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
In the Field, Ft. Larned, Kansas,
September 19, 1868.

"BVT. MAJOR GENERAL W. B. HAZEN,
In charge of locating Indians,
GENERAL:

All, or a large portion of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Indians abandoned their reservation at Fort Cobb on or about the 20th of June last, and since that time have been in the vicinity of this Post, professing to be friendly, and under the existing state of hostilities of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes, occupying this same section of country, their presence here is very embarrassing to me and a great drawback in the prosecution of hostilities against the known hostile bands, as it is impossible to distinguish friendly from unfriendly Indians, and in consequence a large portion of my force is required to guard against the strong possibility that the Kiowas and Comanches may themselves become hostile. I therefore make the following proposition: that I will furnish rations to the Kiowas and Comanches until the 31st day of October, 1868, if they can at once return to Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, a sufficient number of their rations to be drawn here to provide for their wants in transit, and the remainder to be drawn from Fort Arbuckle, on condition that you can furnish from the funds in your possession enough to subsist them at Fort Cobb, from the 31st of October until the coming spring, say April or May, 1869.

"I am, etc.,

(Signed) "P. H. SHERIDAN,
Major General.

The following was my reply:

"Fort Larned, Kansas, Sept. 20, 1868.

MAJOR-GEN. P. H. SHERIDAN, U. S. A.,
Commndg. Dept. of the Mo.

SIR:

In reply to your letter of September 19, 1868, making propositions to furnish rations to the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, etc., I will state that I accept the proposition so far as relates to myself, relying upon your official support when it may be needed to carry it out. I shall accompany these Indians in person, using what influence I may have to keep them permanently upon their reservation.

"I am, etc.,

(Signed) "W. B. HAZEN,
"Bvt. Maj.-Gen.
"In charge of Locating Indians."

It was necessary to wait a week in order to bring up a part of the rations from below, and it was arranged that the Indians were to hunt buffalo, and at the expiration of that time, to come in, get the remainder of their rations and then set out for Cobb. But in place of coming in again, their hunt carried them so far south, that they kept straight on to Fort Cobb. This tended to leave the impression that they had all joined the war party. After waiting a reasonable time for their return, I set about carrying out my part of this arrangement. But as the needs of the military service were such that but a small escort could be given me, and the intermediate country was occupied by the hostile Cheyennes and Arapahoes, I was compelled to keep to the less hostile country, by taking a more eastern route, making my arrival at Cobb about two weeks later than was appointed with the Indians, or not until November 7th.

The Comanches went straight through (some 300 miles) to Fort Cobb. The Kiowas and Apaches (a small band with the Kiowas) went so near as to communicate with Cobb, and as I was not there, they believed the arrangement had failed, and moved up near the Antelope Hills and encamped, as had been their winter custom for many years, near the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, where they could get game, and where for many winters the tents of these bands had been pitched along the river banks for twenty miles. They were here joined by a few scattering bands (about 20 lodges) of Kiowas and some Comanches who were not at Larned, and were in no way included in our agreement. They also sent a small war party under Kicking Bird to fight the Utes, and a small raiding party under Satanta into Texas. This I have since learned. Satanta reported to me at Cobb among the first after my arrival. Kicking Bird is acknowledged the best and most reliable chief of the Kiowas, but was the last to report at Cobb, several days after the battle. The Kiowas remained encamped near the hostile Indians until about the 10th of November, when, hearing of my arrival, they all, with the exception of a part of those not included in our Larned Agreement, and those absent as explained, commenced moving down toward Cobb, and went into camp on the Washita about 20 or 30 miles above it. Their principal chiefs, including Satanta, Lone Wolf and Satank, reporting to me at Cobb, and by the 20th of November all the principal chiefs had reported in person, as agreed at Larned, with their men, women and children, gathered on the reservation. My camps of Indians extended along the river for about 20 miles, on either side of Cobb, and this was necessary to give grazing to their great number of ponies, amounting sometimes to 200 owned by one Indian. The Kiowas, from this time to the battle, came regularly for rations. I had people in their camps daily, and they were a part of my camps and were under my protection.

Could there have been any possible doubt of my duty as to giving them protection, the following made it clear:

HEADQTRS. MILITARY DIV. OF THE MO.

"St. Louis, Mo., 13th Oct. 1868.

"BVT. MAJ. GEN. W. B. HAZEN,
Fort Cobb, Indian Territory.

GENERAL:

* * * * * * * *

I want you to go to Fort Cobb and make provision for all the Indians who come there to keep out of the war. and I prefer that no war-like proceedings be made from that quarter. * * * *

"The object is for the War and Interior Departments to afford the peaceful Indians every possible protection, support and encouragement, whilst the troops proceed against all outside of the reservation, as hostile; and it may be that General Sheridan will be forced to invade the reservation in pursuit of hostile Indians; if so, I will instruct him to do all he can to spare the well-disposed: but their only safety now is in rendezvousing at Fort Cobb.

* * * * * * * *

"I remain, etc.

(Signed) "W. T. SHERMAN,
Lieut. Gen. Commndg.

HEADQTRS. MILITARY DIV. OF THE MO.

St. Louis, Mo., 23rd Nov. 1868.

"GEN. W. B. HAZEN,
"Southern Indian Reservation,
Fort Cobb, Indian Territory.

* * * * * * * *

"The establishment of Gen. Hazen at Fort Cobb with Fifty Thousand Dollars ($50,000) and the clothing and stores which the Indian Bureau have agreed to supply, is the result of the action of the Indian Peace Commission, which aimed to hold out the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other.

"Every appearance about Fort Cobb should be suggestive of an earnest desire to afford a place of refuge where the peaceable Indians may receive food and be safe against troops, as well as against the hostile Indians who may try to involve them in the common war.

"If you have not already notified General Sheridan of the fact that some of the Kiowas are peaceful, get word to him in some way or other, lest he pursue them and stampede your whole family." * *

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "W. T. SHERMAN,
"Lieut.-Gen."

As soon as it was determined that I should go to Cobb, a captain of the army then near that point, was detailed to proceed to Cobb and act for me until my arrival. On the 30th of October, seven days before my arrival, he reported as follows:

"FORT COBB, INDIAN TERRITORY,
"Friday night, Oct. 30, 1868.

"MAJOR JAMES P. ROY,
"6th Regt. U. S. Infantry,
"Commandg. Dist. Indian Territory.

"MAJOR:

* * * * * * * *

"First,—It is certain no Comanches or Kiowas have joined the Cheyennes and Arapahoes as yet, in the hostilities north of the Arkansas, unless it be a few unauthorized stragglers. The whole of both tribes, as such, are south of the Arkansas, within a hundred miles of this place, at the present time, and prefer peace (with subsistence) to war. The Kiowas and Yam-pa-ri-ka band of the Comanches—together about 2500 souls—were the Indians who I understand were to meet Gen. Hazen at Fort Larned and come here with him. Through fear of some trick, and from a dislike to traveling with soldiers, as they assert, they decided among themselves not to go to Larned, but to come directly here, and they did accordingly, moving together on the direct trail from Fort Larned to this place, till they camped and sent here to see whether Gen. Hazen was on time. Finding he was not, and by keeping couriers out knowing that he was en route, the Kiowas, hungry, moved westward to the neighborhood of the Antelope Hills, to hunt buffalo, and they are now there. The Yam-pa-ri-ka band of Comanches remained on the Canadian, sending hunting parties west. I yesterday sent a courier to them, and their three principal chiefs are here tonight.

* * * * * * * *

"I remain very respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
(Signed) "HENRY E. ALVORD,
"Capt. 10th Reg. Cavalry,
"A. A. I. G. for Dist. Ind. Ter."

As I will have occasion to refer to this officer's reports again, I will here say he evinced peculiar fitness for his duties, and his collection of facts, his principal duty, was always found to be accurate.

Much alarm was expressed by the Kiowas, who had been told by the half-breeds and others opposed to the military control of Indians, that the gathering of them at Fort Cobb was a mere trick to get them all there and then hold them as prisoners. I was never able to entirely disabuse them of this idea—they were constantly seeking an explanation, and when they saw the command coming from the westward, it seemed to them that the story told them was true, and a panic immediately seized these people, who fled toward Red River. Whether the chiefs were honest in professing the wish to bring their camps into Cobb with the troops or not, I don't know, but certain it is, the panic was so great they could not have done it.

On the evening of the 16th of December, Indians commenced arriving in great trepidation, saying a large force was approaching from the west, and they feared it might attack them, and requested me to send out and notify the commander of their peaceful status, which I at once did, sending two of my own mounted orderlies. This is the communication published by General Custer, and for which I have been held to so serious an account.

The entire controversy rests on the question, whether the Kiowas that were at Fort Larned were in the battle or not. To be told that they were, with the exception of a few travelers who chanced to be staying there over night, and those perhaps who were not, and never had been, under my control, is as preposterous as to be told that I was there myself, directing them in the fight. I had been on the spot for nearly six weeks, with ample assistance, and our entire attention had been devoted to these people and our knowledge of them had been very accurate. Mrs. Blinn and child, referred to in General Custer's article as having been found murdered in the Kiowa camp, were captured by the Arapahoes, with whom they lived until killed on the morning of the battle by an Arapahoe in the Arapahoe camp, the Kiowas never having been in any way responsible in this case. The whole story of this unfortunate woman and her child has been told to me a dozen times by as many different Indians, both before and after the battle, each corroborating the story of the others, and I was on the point of rescuing her and in correspondence with her, when the battle took place.

As direct evidence I will make the following extracts from my official records of that time, before there was the least idea that any question would ever spring up on the subject.

"Fort Cobb, I. T., 26th Nov. 1868.
"HEADQTRS. SOUTHERN INDIAN DIST.

"MAJOR J. P. ROY,
Commander District I. T., Ft. Arbuckle.

"The Kiowas and Comanches have all been in and received their rations for ten days. Today they returned to their camp some 30 miles away, some of them grumbling because they could not have everything at the post."

* * * * * * * *

"Very resp'y your obdt. servant,
(Signed) "W. B. HAZEN,
"Bvt. Major General."

My retained return of provisions shows that on the 26th, the date of the foregoing note, the battle being at sunrise on the 27th, 100 miles away, I issued rations to nine-tenths of all the Kiowas under my charge. And that night Satanta, Satank, Lone Wolf and nearly all the main Kiowa chiefs slept in my tent. I had breakfast prepared for them, and they left for their camp next morning, the 27th, about 10 or 11 o'clock, several hours after the battle was fought.

General Sheridan, in his endorsement to the Adjutant General, heretofore given, has made a grave mistake in stating that "he followed the trail of the Kiowas *directly from the battle until he overtook them.*" The facts are, he was not at the battle, nor did he visit that section until December 10th, 13 days afterward, when he followed a trail, no one then knowing when it was made, until he came up with the Kiowas. This was the main trail made by the Kiowas when first learning of my arrival at Cobb. General Sheridan probably intended to say that he followed *a trail from the battlefield,* which, as evidence in this question, is a very different matter.

As before remarked, the Kiowas had been exceedingly sensitive and timid, from the first, never appearing to have full faith in our sincerity, and had been made all the more suspicious by the advice given them by the interpreter, John Smith, and others, on the Arkansas, who wished to keep them there; and no sooner did the Kiowas hear of the battle—which they did on the following night—than they flushed like a covey of partridges and ran in a southwesterly direction, where they met all the hostile tribes. Here they all held a council of war on the 22d of December, sending scouts to me and reporting what they had done, and after the council they sent in a very full account of it, given by Captain Alvord as follows:

"CAMP AT OLD FORT COBB,
Indian Territory,
Monday, Dec. 7, 1868.

"SUMMARY OF INFORMATION CONCERNING HOSTILE INDIANS.

"The action on the 27th near the Antelope Hills seemed to have caused the line between the friendly and hostile Indians now in this Territory, to be distinctly drawn.

"There has been no doubt as to the status of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and the Quahada Comanches who went westward out of reach some time ago, so that they have not been communicated with by Gen. Hazen.

"But the Kiowas and Apaches, the Costecheiteghka Commanches, and smaller bands, while professing the greatest friendship, and frequently visiting this place, have kept their camps well up the Washita, and were until the recent engagement, really 'on the fence.'

"Besides the Cheyennes and Arapahoes a small band of Quahada Comanches (who were not at Fort Larned) and a few Costecheiteghka Comanches* undoubtedly participated in the fight, one of the latter being killed.

"Other Kiowa chiefs (Kicking Bird and Woman's Heart) admit they at least lent the moral influence of their presence during the latter part of the action, and probably acted with the hostile tribes. The latter supposition appears substantiated by the fact that when the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, breaking camp on the Washita, moved south, Satanta, Satank and Timber Mountain, with a full half of the Kiowas, joined and accompanied them.

* * * * * * * *

"Black Eagle and Little Wolf send word that they feel better since having this talk from the hostile camp. They assure General Hazen that they will hold fast to him and will continue to control half the Kiowas still on the Washita. One of Black Eagle's men happened to be at Black Kettle's camp at the time of the attack, but escaped and came to his own lodge very destitute. Black Eagle refitted him entirely, and loading him with presents, sent him to the hostile camp. By him he sent word that he was pleased with the talk brought to him, and that he would remain on the Washita and use all his influence to prevent hostile operations toward them, so long as they would not move his way to molest anyone, and not to go to Texas, thereby bringing trouble on his own people. Black Eagle hopes that when his good talk reaches the Sweetwater camps, *the seceding Kiowas will rejoin his friendly party.*

"At the same time that the hostile camp was established on the Sweetwater, the friendly Kiowas, Apaches and the Tannura Comanches moved down to Washita, and are now located on the north side of that stream, at the mouth of a small creek, half a day's ride from this place.

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*The Costecheitghka Comanches had never been at Fort Larned or at Cobb, but were making arrangements to leave the war party. They had not become a party of my camp.

"The two camps of Indians are the only ones now known to be west of this place and east of the Staked Plains. Beyond the camps of the friendly Kiowas, etc., the valley of the Washita is not occupied by any Indians.

"The mouth of Sweetwater Creek, on the north fork of Red River, was, on the morning of December 2d, the center of a congregation of camps, estimated as follows: 180 lodges of Arapahoes; 150 lodges of Cheyennes; 80 lodges of Kiowas, and 75 lodges of Comanches, mostly Gostecheteghkas—about 475 lodges. The fighting men of the various camps were mostly at home at that time, averaging very nearly one to each lodge."

* * * * * * * *

"Respectfully forwarded in accordance with orders from Commanding Officer Indian Territory, based upon instructions from Headquarters Department of the Missouri, in the Field dated Fort Hays, Kansas, October 25, 1868.

(Signed) "HENRY E. ALVORD,
"Captain 10th Cavalry
"A. A. I. G. Dist. Ind. Ter."

It was now thought by all that a large portion of the Kiowas would certainly join the hostile party, and that Satanta would lead them; and appearances seemed to make it pretty certain that more Kiowas than had been supposed had taken a hand in the fight. But after getting over their fright, about one-half of them under Black Eagle returned to the old camp, and as will be seen further on, after the council of war, December 2d, many of the others with Satanta, came back also. I now made the following report:

"Fort Cobb, I. T., Dec. 7, 1868.

"LIEUT. GEN. W. T. SHERMAN,
United States Army.

"Since my last report there have been some changes in positions of Indians. I enclose a copy of Capt. Alvord's report, concerning nearly everything. This is the officer who has assisted me, and now, under orders from Department Headquarters, continues to gather the same line of information, which I find equally useful to myself and the Department Commander.

"The fight before reported has assisted me more than anything else in learning the status of these people. About half the Kiowas under Satanta go with the hostile party, while the remainder, under Black Eagle, remain here, or rather, about 20 miles from here, up the Washita, promising to come this way as the grass is eaten by their horses. I have never had faith in Satanta and if he finally gets a drubbing with the rest, it will be better for everybody. I think by large presents of coffee and sugar he might have been bought for peace, but not for a valuable and lasting one. Black Eagle is probably sincere, and when he moves close in, as he promises, and I can keep them from communicating with outside bands, about all will have been done that can be, until the military power has done its work thoroughly.

"The prevailing sentiment reported by the people who have gone out to the hostile camp, is no doubt war-like and although professing peace, will likely be found in the next fight.

"I am more strongly of the opinion than ever that General Sheridan should do his work thoroughly this winter, and that it will then be lasting. If he can throw a sub-depot of supplies directly south of the Antelope Hills, operating from there with cavalry, without wagons, by quickly succeeding expeditions, there can be little doubt of the result.

"To suppose the late battle decisive and cease offensive operations, would be very unfortunate. (No further military operations of any note, however, were carried on.) The Quahadas, or Staked Plains Indians, are still on the Pecos.

A Kiowa just in from their camp reports Satanta not gone. That four inferior chiefs went with about one-third of the Kiowas having been stampeded in the battle, and would probably all come back, and all come in. I find the Indians very sensational, and the exact facts are hard to get.

* * * * * * * *

"The Kiowas report one Bent, a half-breed guide, with the troops, in communication with the Indians, told them (the Kiowas) that this Cobb was only a trap to get them together when they would be made prisoners, and dealt with in bad faith. This is a part of the advice given them by John Smith and other Indian men on the Arkansas. The influence of these men is always bad.

"I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

"W. B. HAZEN,
"Bvt. Major Gen. U. S. A."

This report of the return of Satanta and about one-half of the remaining Kiowas, proved to be true, and by December 10th fully three-fourths of the Kiowas were re-established under my care, and I assured them of our good faith as strongly as possible.

Although General Custer says it was 40 or 50 miles from Cobb to the Kiowa camp, it was called 20 miles at the fort. It was an usual three (3) hours' ride for a scout, and Captain Alvord, in his report, says "A half day's ride." General Custer says they were seven days reaching it, after leaving the battlefield, while they were but a part of two days afterward in reaching Cobb, the whole distance being 125 miles.

This status was not interrupted, although the Kiowas never felt secure until the 16th, when the troops were first discovered advancing from the west. This alarmed them to such an extent that the wild and more ignorant stampeded at once, so that when the first messengers arrived at their camp from the command, most of their lodges were already packed and on the move, many of them ten miles away, and when they learned that Satanta and Lone Wolf were held as prisoners, they redoubled their speed. So that, whatever may have been the intentions of the chiefs when holding their first interview with General Custer, the camps were already in action, and as uncontrollable as a herd of scared buffalo. The sensitiveness and fright of all the Indians belonging to my camps, was from this time until some days after the arrival of the troops, beyond all description. They all, except the Kiowas, moved down behind my camp, sat up all night with their ponies saddled, took very little food nor allowed their animals grazing.

I will now give in full the report of Philip McCusker, the Kiowa and Comanche interpreter, written Dec. 3d, 1868, which General Custer says "contain all the evidence on which my (his) account is based." It is merely the transcript of an account of the battle of the Washita as given by the Kiowa chief Black Eagle, and was subsequently found to be mainly accurate. McCusker, in contradistinction to the statement of General Custer, "that this report was merely for the Indian Bureau," made two copies, one for me, which I immediately forwarded to General Sherman at St. Louis, which was the first official information received of the battle.

3d December, 1868.
"FORT COBB, INDIAN TERRITORY.

"COL. THOS. MURPHY,
Supt. of Indian Affairs.

"SIR:

"I have the honor to report the following statement of Black Eagle, chief of the Kiowas, concerning an action that recently occurred on the Washita River near the Antelope Hills, between a column of United States troops and Arapahoes and a small party of Kiowa and Comanche Indians. On the night of the 26th November a party of Kiowa Indians returning from an expedition against the Utes, saw, on nearing the Antelope Hills, on the Canadian River, a large trail going south toward the Washita. On the arrival of the Kiowas at the Cheyenne camp, they told the Cheyennes about the trail they had seen, but the Cheyennes only laughed at them. One of the Kiowas concluded to stay at the Cheyenne camp that night, and the rest of them went on their way to their own camp, which was but a short distance off. About daylight on the morning of the 27th of November, Black Kettle's camp of Cheyennes containing about 30 lodges, was attacked by the United States troops. The Indians all fled towards some other camps of Cheyennes, closely pursued by the troops. After the Indians had run a short distance, they separated into two parties, the braves and young women who were fleet of foot, taking to the right, and the young and infirm taking to the left, and running into some brush, where they were soon surrounded by the soldiers. The other party of Indians, who ran to the right, and among whom was one Kiowa, were hotly pursued by a party of eighteen soldiers, who were all riding gray horses. They overtook and killed some of the Indians, when they were met by a large party of Indians who had rallied from the other camps. Here a short action took place—both parties fighting desperately—when an Arapaho brave rushed in, and with his own hands struck down three soldiers, when he was shot through the head and instantly killed. Here the soldiers all dismounted and tied their horses. About this time a Cheyenne brave rushed in and struck down two soldiers, when he was shot through the leg, breaking it, and knocking him off his horse. The Indians then made a desperate charge and succeeded in killing the whole party of eighteen men. Then they rushed down to the rescue of the party that the troops had surrounded first, but found that they were all killed or taken prisoners. By this time the soldiers had collected together a large number of Cheyenne horses which were all shot. The Indians then attacked the troops, who dismounted and commenced to retreat slowly. The Indians also dismounted and took every advantage of cover, getting ahead of the troops and ambushing them whenever possible. They continued fighting this way until near night, the soldiers slowly rereating until they met their wagon train, when the Indians retired. The troops did not commence the retreat until the second day, both parties holding the battle ground. The Indians report having counted 28 soldiers killed, and acknowledge a loss of 11 Cheyenne men killed, including Black Kettle. The Arapahoes had three men killed; they also had a great many women and children killed in both tribes, as well as a great many taken prisoners. One Comanche boy was badly wounded. The Kiowas report one Osage Indian killed, supposed to have been a guide for the troops.

"Black Eagle says he does not vouch for the correctness of this report, but that the above statement is just as he heard it.

"P. S.—Since writing the above, I learn from a runner who has just got in, that the Cheyenne loss in men is much greater than first reported. They also report a loss of 37 prisoners, probably women and children.

"The above statement is respectfully submitted for your information.

(Signed) "PHILIP MCCUSKER,
"United States Interpreter
for Kiowas and Comanches."

If there is anything in this report that in the least militates with the account I have given, I have not been able to find it. That there were a few Kiowas and Comanches in the Cheyenne camp is not strange nor unnatural, nor that they should have joined in repelling an attack—by whom they knew not—nor did my letter of warning not to attack the Kiowas mean that no individual Indian of the Kiowa camp had been on the warpath that season, nor would that fact affect my duty toward the camp.

I remained on duty in charge of these Indians at that point until the succeeding July, seeking every available opportunity of getting fresh information upon all these points from fresh sources, and have listened to not less than fifty accounts of the battle of the Washita, from different individuals belonging to every tribe in that country, and in not a single account have their statements failed to agree with the account here given. There was neither contradiction nor interference, nor have I subsequently been led to doubt the accuracy of Indian information upon these subjects in a single instance.

McCusker possesses, in a most remarkable degree, a knowledge of Indian character, and a keen and penetrating comprehension of the motives and causes that control these people, beyond any person I have ever known, and his views do not differ from those given here, as will be seen in his statement.

I had spent several days with General Sheridan before going to Cobb, and there was the most perfect accord in our purposes. It was above all things requisite and agreed upon that Fort Cobb should not be made a place where, under the shadow of an Indian agency, those Indians requiring punishment could shield themselves when chastisement drew near. And it was perfectly understood that while I did all in my power to keep those Indians, included in our agreement at Larned from going to war, I should leave those at war to be dealt with by the military authorities and this I held to most strictly.

The command never seemed to comprehend what they were endeavoring to do. In warning them not to attack the Kiowas, I was not only doing an unmistakable duty, but warning them from a dreadful mistake that never could be rectified. General Custer had no cause to suppose my views of Indian matters were opposed to severe measures. The following was my recommendation to the Government upon the subject in 1866, and my views have never changed. General Crook is the only officer who has ever had the opportunity to act upon a similar theory. It is as follows:

"Allot to each tribe, arbitrarily, its territory or reservation, and make vigorous war upon all those who do not remain on them. If necessary give them food and clothing, but no implements of war."—Ex. Doc. No. 45, 39th Congress, 2d session. And I repeatedly urged the need of vigorous offensive operations, while General Custer was at Fort Cobb.

The humane element of the country, then in the ascendant upon the Indian question, was already greatly exercised by the death of Black Kettle, and had I not sent notice, as I did, after the Indians themselves had requested me to do so, and any portions of my camps with their women and children, been attacked, an investigation would certainly have followed. The facts I have here given would all have been shown. I would have lost my commission, for a most gross neglect of duty while the military force would have been judged in any way different from Chivington's, only that he had no part in bringing the Indians together at Sand Creek, with their women and children in promised security. That the Kiowas have at all times richly deserved the severest punishment, I have constantly maintained, but punishment under such circumstances as it was desired to inflict it on the 17th day of December, 1868, while they were resting under the most sacred promise of protection, I could never assent to.

I had no military command at Fort Cobb and when in the spring, the raids into Texas were commenced, and I made requisitions on the officer in command for forces, giving the names of Indians who had gone, he declined to aid me. I was soon after relieved from Indian duty.

I will append direct statements upon the question of the Kiowas being in the battle of the Washita, of the four men who had the best opportunity of knowing the facts respecting it. Two of these men were Gen. Custer's own witnesses, and are all men of known integrity.

CAPTAIN ALVORD'S STATEMENT.

Easthampton, Mass., April 4, 1874.

COL. W. B. HAZEN, 6TH REGT. INF.
Bvt. Major Gen. U. S. Army.

GENERAL:

In your letter of the 2d of March, just received, you ask me to answer the question—"Were the Indians who came from Fort Larned, as a people engaged in the battle of the Washita?" (Indian Ty. Nov. 27, 1868.)

As you know, I was at that time Captain 10th regiment of Cavalry, and had been for over a month on special duty at old Fort Cobb, on the Washita River, gathering and holding in that vicinity until your arrival to take charge of them, such of the Comanches, Kiowas and other Indians of that part of the country as were not allied with the Cheyennes in their hostilities in Kansas.

At that date of the "battle of the Washita" you had arrived at Fort Cobb, and I was remaining both to assist you at the commencement of your new duties, and to gather and forward, under orders, to the Commanding General Department of the Missouri, semi-weekly reports of Indian information. For this purpose I had some days before, organized and secretly put into service, a small corps of Comanche scouts, who proved thoroughly reliable in their reports from the very first. Efficient interpreters were also employed.

From these circumstances I was, on the 27th of November, 1868, well acquainted with nearly all the chiefs and headmen of the Indians in the western half of the Indian Territory, and reliably informed as to their expressed sentiments, their apparent intentions, the location of their camps, their consulations and generally of the movements and conduct of themselves or their people. Thus I am enabled to give the following answer to your question:

The Kiowas, as a tribe, including those who came from Larned, were *not*, in any number, engaged in the battle of the Washita.

Some of the earliest and most disinterested accounts of that affair, and in my opinion, the most accurate, came from friendly Indians, and were subsequently fully corroborated as to the participants on the Indian side. These united in the statement that but one Kiowa was killed in action—he was a casual visitor at the camp of Black Kettle, a returning hunter or runner, who merely happened to pass that way with the Cheyennes. And no reliable report ever reached us of there being any number of Kiowas engaged in the fight. We know that the Kiowa chiefs and the greater portion of their people received their rations in person from us at Fort Cobb only the day before, and on the night of Nov. 26th the camp of the entire tribe was much nearer ours than to that of the Cheyennes. It was a ride of some hours, from the Kiowa camp to the scene of the battle, and using every moment from the first alarm, but few, if any, could have reached the place during the progress of the conflict. My best information was to the effect that a few Kiowas witnessed the closing scene, but that none reached the ground in time to take any part in the action.

This is written from memory only, and may, in some minor points, be incorrect, but not essentially.

My "Notes of Indian Affairs," kept at that time, with all the papers bearing on the subject, are at present out of my reach—in my old army desk in Virginia—but I will obtain them as soon as possible, and if you desire it, make an unquestionably accurate statement in detail of the order of events on the Washita in November and December, 1868—that period so memeorable in the Indian affairs of the Southwest.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
HENRY E. ALVORD.

STATEMENT OF JAMES N. DUNHAM.

St. Louis, Mo., April 8, 1874.

GEN. W. B. HAZEN,
Comdg. Fort Buford, D. T.

DEAR GENERAL:

Yours of March 2d, requesting information relative to the battle on the Washita between the U. S. troops and the Arapahoe and Cheyenne Indians, has been received. In answer I would respectfully state that at the time I had the honor to be your clerk, and that to my certain knowledge the principal bands of the Kiowa tribe, viz: Satank, Satanta, Lone Wolf, Black Eagle, Little Hearts and Timber Mountain were at Fort Cobb, and in the vicinity for more than a week previously to the battle of the Washita. I, by your order, issued rations to them on the 25th or 26th of November. These head-men had their followers and their families with them, and Satanta, Lone Wolf, Timber Mountain and Black Eagle made our tents their headquarters, and slept in our tent and messed with us. None of the leading Kiowa men could have been engaged in the battle of the Washita. I traded with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes during the winters of '70 and '71, and have frequently conversed with the leading chiefs about the battle. Knowing it was thought by the troops that some of the Kiowa were in the battle, I asked them if it was so. They invariably answered that none of the Kiowas took any part in the battle, but that after the arrest of Lone Wolf and Satanta by General Custer, the Kiowas were stampeded and thought the Government had broken faith with them, for in all the councils that we had with them you had always promised that they should not be molested if they remained on the reservation and kept out of the war. The arrest of Satanta and Lone Wolf caused great dissatisfaction, and made not only the Kiowas, but the Comanches, very distrustful; and the confidence which you, by your firmness and straightforward dealing had infused into them, has never to this day been re-established. Previous to their arrest and confinement we had the influential men of both tribes and their families camped at Fort Cobb, and in the vicinity on the Washita, in daily communication with us, and they were all strong advocates of peace. After the battle and the arrest of Satanta and Lone Wolf, the tribes were divided and scattered, and some of them never came in to the post till months afterwards.

"Very respectfully yours,

JAMES N. DUNHAM.

H. P. JONES' STATEMENT.

"FORT SILL, May 4, 1874.

GEN'L. W. B. HAZEN.

Dear Sir: In reply to yours of March 2d, in reference to the location of the Kiowas at the time of the battle of the Washita, I would state that most, if not all of them, were camped at the mouth of Rainy Mountain Creek, 15 or 16 miles above old Fort Cobb, and for some time previous. The following chiefs had been drawing rations at Fort Cobb: Satanta, Lone Wolf, Black Eagle, Timbered Mountain, Woman Heart, Little Heart, Satank and other head-men.

According to my recollection these chiefs were issued to two days previous of our hearing of the battle of the Washita. I am certain there were no Kiowas at the battle of the Washita, except a party of six or seven young men who were on their return from an expedition against the Utes or Navahoes, and who happened to lodge with Black Kettle the night previous to the attack. At that time I was employed by military authority as interpreter, and stationed at Fort Cobb. Through my constant intercourse with the Indians I was enabled to know of their whereabouts, and also was the first to hear or report the news of the battle. It was at least 65 or 70 miles from the Kiowa camps to the battleground, and General Custer's attack was a complete surprise to the Cheyennes. There was no opportunity to send runners to the Kiowas, though I have no doubt of the willingness of the Kiowas, had they the information, to have been on hand.

I know I have stated nothing but facts.

Yours respectfully,

H. P. JONES,
U. S. Interpreter.

PHILIP McCUSKER'S STATEMENT.

"CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHOE INDIAN AGENCY,
July 19, 1874.

MY DEAR GEN. HAZEN:

In reply to your letter of July 7th, I have the honor to make the following statement:

Previous to the close of the Grand Council, held at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in October, 1867, I was appointed U. S. interpreter for the Kiowas and Comanches, by the president of the council, the Hon. N. G. Taylor, Commissioner of Indian Affairs. My instructions from the Commissioner were to remain in the Indian camps, and report promtply to the Commissioner any movement on the part of the Indians tending to disturb the friendly relations established between them and the people of the U. S. While acting in that capacity, and by virtue of that appointment, I reported to you at Fort Cobb in November, '68, and by you was assigned to duty as interpreter for all the Indians who were then encamped near Fort Cobb. At this time I had lived with the Indians in their camps for eight years, and I knew, and (was) known personally by every chief and head-man of the Kiowas and Comanches and the Apaches who roam with those tribes.

Soon after the close of the council at Medicine Lodge, the Kiowas, Comanches and Apaches instead of remaining on their reservation at peace as they had promised, deliberately violated all their pledges of friendship, and made many murderous raids into Texas—murdering many men, women and children, and carrying many of the latter into captivity, some of whom were with great difficulty ransomed with large sums of money and goods; many children dying on their way to the Indian camps, and some few were never given up, but have grown up among the Indians, the latter saying they were dead.

As fast as I learned the particulars of these outrages, I reported them promptly to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and to the Commissioner, and urged that some steps be taken to punish the guilty parties; knowing them at that time as well as I did, there would have been no difficulty in proving them guilty.

On your assuming charge of the Kiowas and Comanches, I took the earliest opportunity of laying the foregoing facts before you for your information and guidance, and was glad to hear that it was your determination to punish all Indians who could be guilty of murder committed since the last treaty of '67. You said it was your intention to give them a fair trial, and when the murder or other crimes could be clearly proven, you would then have them punished as white men were punished for the same crimes; and further, that you intended to teach them that present immunity from punishment would not excuse or shield them, but that they would be punished for their crimes no matter what length of time might have passed between the commission of the crime and the apprehension.

This I regarded as the only intelligent solution of the Indian question, and had your plan been carried out, the many murders and outrages that had been committed in the last five years would never have happened, and the Indian war that has just commenced would never have begun.

I have been particular in making the foregoing statement in order that you may know just how I have always felt toward the people. I have many friends among the Comanches and a few among the Kiowas, yet I have never made excuses for their crimes, but have on all occasions represented the matter just as it was, to the officers of the post, and strongly urged the justice of punishing them.

When General Sheridan took the field in the fall of '68, the Kiowas and Comanches were not considered hostile, as their depredations had been confined more particularly to Texas, and had not attracted such general notice as the depredations committed in Kansas. Their actual status was unknown to General Sheridan, and they were not included in the hostiles. This, I think, was the *first mistake* of the campaign. They should have been included with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. I was already at Fort Cobb when the Kiowas arrived there, late in October, '68. A large party of Comanches preceded them there. Captain Alvord issued rations to them until you arrived. Captain Alvord issued rations to the Kiowas several times, and I was present at all the issues.

I recollect distinctly what Kiowa chiefs were there at the issue of rations on the 26th day of November. There were present Lone Wolf, Satank and Timbered Mountain—these three remained in your tent all night; they slept there. Besides these there were Satank, Black Eagle, Sytimore, Fish-a-More, Little Heart, Wolf Captain and Er-mope. (It is not certain where Kicking Bird was.) These at that time were considered to be all the head-men of the Kiowas except Big Bow and To-hau-son, who had about 30 lodges with them, and were encamped near the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and were present with those tribes in the battle; but these Kiowas *never* came to Fort Cobb, but moved south and west with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes.

Now as these chiefs whose names I have given, and who were under your care at Cobb, were present at the issue of the 26th, and as General Custer surprised the camp on the following morning, it was impossible for them to be there; they no doubt would have gone, had they known Custer was coming—that is, some of their young men. But they heard of the fight and Custer's retreat simultaneously, and it was the first news they *had from there.*

Mou-wi, a Comanche chief, brought in the first news we got from an eye-witness. Black Eagle of the Kiowas, got the story from some of his relatives, who were with Big Bow. As I said before, the party of Kiowas who were present at the battle of the Washita, never came to Fort Cobb, and were not of your camps. The party with Big Bow has been hostile ever since.

On the approach of General Sheridan the Kiowas stampeded—not because they had been in the battle of the Washita, but, like all wild Indians, they were alarmed at the approach of so large a body of troops, knowing they had destroyed a Cheyenne village a short time before. A small village of Comanches stampeded in the same way, but fortunately ran into Evans' command of the 3d Cavalry, who burned their village and killed one of their worst men.

I make the above statement from my own personal knowledge. The facts in regard to the whereabouts of the Kiowas on the 26th and 27th of November, 1868, were well known to the commanding officers at the time, and also to all other persons who were at Cobb, and they all know that the above is a true statement.

"I am very respectfully,

PHILIP MCCUSKER.

W. B. HAZEN.

DU TISNE'S EXPEDITION INTO OKLAHOMA, 1719.

One of the main purposes of France in settling Louisiana was the development of an overland route for trade and commerce with the Spaniards in Texas and New Mexico. Spain had been trading with the Indians in the West and Southwest for over a century before the French came in to challenge her. The period of France's most far-reaching activities in North America was during the first half of the eighteenth century. It was during this period that the international conflict in the Southwest was being fought out between the two nations, each trying to get control of the territory through the control of the Indian and his trade. Oklahoma came in for her share in the struggle, especially because of her two great highways, the Arkansas and Red Rivers. Between 1718 and 1724 France was expending much effort in opening these highways, especially the Arkansas River.

At the same time that Bernard de la Harpe was crossing eastern Oklahoma, coming in from the south and assembling the nine nations at the Touacara village on the Arkansas, another Frenchman, Charles Du Tisne, was approaching Oklahoma, coming from the north, and visiting the Pawnees, who were located in northeastern Oklahoma. The Pawnees, or Pani, belonged to the Caddoan family. When history dawns in Oklahoma, the Caddoan family are occupying the northern half of Oklahoma. In the movement of the Caddoan tribes northward the Pawnees are said to have brought up the rear,[1] though eventually part of them went much farther north than other Caddoan tribes. The term Pani, or Pawnee, as applied to Indian slaves, came into use in the sixteenth century, by the French and Spanish explorers and traders. The Pawnee villages lay between the French and Spanish colonial frontiers and, in order to get into New Mexico by the Arkansas River, the French had to make an alliance with them. It was other tribes of this family that La Harpe had visited in the summer of 1719, with the aim of making treaties and alliances, in order to open the way to trade with the Spanish settlements on the Rio Grande. Both

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[1] Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 30, part 2, page 214.

La Harpe and Du Tisne wished to go farther west and visit the Paducas, a strong, warlike nation living on the western plains. The Spaniards were, also, interested in making alliances with the Paducas. In 1719, the same year La Harpe and Du Tisne entered Oklahoma, a Spanish expedition was sent from Santa Fe to the Missouri to drive the French back. France's renewed interest in the Louisiana country came as a result of Law's financial scheme, and caused the Spaniards much concern. The fate of this Spanish expedition is still a mystery. Possibly the Paducas were the ones responsible for its ill fate.

In the spring of 1719 Claud Charles Du Tisne started on an expedition in the Southwest with the aim in view of visiting the Missouri, Osages, Pawnees and the Paducas. His starting place was Kaskaskia, in the Illinois country. He went up the Missouri to the mouth of the Osage, a distance of forty leagues, according to Du Tisne's reckoning.[2] From the mouth of the Osage, he went eighty leagues to the Osage villages. Eighty leagues from the mouth of the Osage River would place the Osage villages between the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth meridians. The Osages had been known to the French since Father Marquette's expedition into the Southwest in 1673. Father Marquette located them on the Osage River. The French trappers and traders, no doubt, had made frequent visits to the Osages, but the first official visit to the Osages was that of Du Tisne. At this time Du Tisne says that their villages consisted of about a hundred cabins and two hundred warriors. The Osages, according to Du Tisne, stay in their villages and spend the winters in chasing the buffalo. "Horses which they steal from the Panis can be bought from them."

Du Tisne was well received by the Osages, but when he told them that he had planned to go on to the Pawnees they were opposed to the idea. Du Tisne, like La Harpe, brought goods with him to acquaint these Indians with French merchandise. After much persuasion, and with much determination, Du Tisne said, "I learned that they did not want me to take my goods that I had brought, so I proposed to them to let me take three guns for myself and three for the interpreter. And if they did not consent to this I would be very angry."[3] They consented to this, and Du Tisne went on to the Pawnee country.

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[2] Extrait de la Relations de Bernard de la Harpe, Margry, Vol. VI, page 310.

The Pawnee villages were reached by Du Tisne after going forty leagues southwest.[4] He said that the country over which he went was both prairie and hilly country, and that he crossed four rivers, the largest of which was the Arkansas. Here Du Tisne must have made a mistake, for had he reached the Arkansas he would have gone farther than forty leagues. This distance to the southwest would have taken him into Oklahoma across the Grand River, and to about where Chelsea, Oklahoma. It is possible that Du Tisne thought the Grand River the Arkansas, this being the first large stream he had crossed since leaving the Osages. This, then, would locate the Pawnee village not far from Chelsea. Had Du Tisne crossed the Arkansas, as he thought, he would not have been far from where La Harpe had gathered the nine nations to sing the Calumet. Du Tisne said they went forty leagues, the distance between the Osages and Pawnees, in four days. This would make an average of ten leagues, or a little over twenty-five miles a day. That was about as far as one could travel over uncharted country.

When Du Tisne first arrived at the Pawnee village he was badly received, because the Pawnees feared that he came to get slaves. This fear was justified because it was not an uncommon thing for the French traders to get slaves from the Indian tribes on the Missouri and the Arkansas. After much persuasion, Du Tisne convinced the Pawnees that he was there on a friendly visit, and made an alliance with them on September 27, 1719.[5] He raised a white flag in the middle of their villages. He traded with the Pawnees for two horses and a mule with a Spanish brand. The Pawnee village, according to Du Tisne, was situated on the bank of a creek, on a hill surrounded by elevated prairies, and there was another village a short distance away. There were in these two villages about three hundred horses, which they valued very much—so much that they were loath to part with them. Also, he said that the Pawnees were a very brutal nation, but that they could easily be subdued if the French would make them presents of guns. There were only six guns among all of them. Du Tisne says there were many other Pawnee villages west and northwest, of which the French had never heard.

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[3] Extrait de la Relations de Bernard de la Harpe, Margry, Vol. VI, page 310.

[4] Ibid, Vol. VI, page 314.

[5] Ibid, Vol. VI, page 312.

Du Tisne, like La Harpe, wished to go to the Paducas. This nation of the western plains, (the Paducas); was now the only barrier between France and her coveted trade. La Harpe said that at the Touacara villages he was told that the Spaniards got a yellow metal from the ground in the Paduca country. The Pawnees opposed Du Tisne's plan of going to the Paduca country because the Paducas were their mortal enemies. The Pawnees told Du Tisne that they had once been to the village of the Spaniards, which was a month's journey away. Du Tisne says that from the Pawnee villages two days' journey to the west, and a quarter to the Southwest is a salt mine, which is very beautiful and pure. This would give added emphasis to the belief that the Pawnee villages which Du Tisne visited were about where Chelsea, Oklahoma, is today.[6]

Du Tisne believed that the French could make peace between the Pawnees and Paducas, and thereby gain a route to the Spaniards. He believed this could be done by giving back their slaves and making them presents. Du Tisne thought that he could do this, and offered his service to M. de Boisbriant, commander of the Kaskaskia Post.

During the entire period of the French occupation of the Mississippi there was a continuous conflict between the Spaniards and the French. It was a frequent occurrence for inroads to be made into the Indian country, and this one was especially interesting and important to Oklahoma, because it was principally from such explorations that Oklahoma received so many French names of places. These expeditions, both private and official, continued as long as France controlled Louisiana. The French trader of Louisiana and Canada continued to look with covetous eyes toward New Mexico. To the adventurer it was the land of gold and silver, and, probably, a path to the South sea. To the trader and trapper it offered rich reward. The exclusive policy of the Spaniards, with the Apaches on the Red River, and the Comanches on the Arkansas, Kaw and Platte rivers, kept the highways closed for a while longer.

ANNA LEWIS.

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[6] Chappell, Phil. E., "A History of the Missouri River," in Kansas Historical Colletcions, Vol. IX, 1905-1906, page 253.

Editorial Note—The Pawnee people with whom Du Tisne met and those with whom La Harpe met a few weeks earlier as well, should not be confused or confounded with the Pawnee tribe which is still known by that name. The latter were called the Panimaha by the Osage and kindred tribes, this name signifying upper or northern Pawnee, while those living in the Arkansas and Canadian were called the Paniouassa, meaning lower or southern Pawnee. Most of the last mentioned tribes long since disappeared, the surviving remnants doubtless having been absorbed by the Pani Pique (i. e., Tattooed Pawnee), now known as the Wichita. J. B. T.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 3D QUARTER, NOVEMBER 3, 1925.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened in Room 224, in the Capitol, at 2:00 p. m., Tuesday, November 3, 1925, with the following members present: Jasper Sipes, president; Judge Thomas Doyle, C. W. Turner, D. W. Peery, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Mrs. John R. Williams, Mrs. A. Emma Estill and Joseph B. Thoburn, the secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The secretary's report was read and ordered to be placed on file.

The treasurer's report was read and ordered to be filed.

The following new members were then elected:

Life Members: Bertha Benton Corbin, Bristow, and Patrick J. Hurley, Tulsa.

Annual Members: Bertha A. Bishop, Guthrie; Allen Crain, Sasakwa; Lewis A. Ferrel, Hennessey; Mrs. L. R. Gephart, El Reno; Dr. Roy Gittinger, Norman; E. E. Grinstead, Pawhuska; B. S. Haug, Burbank; E. D. Hicks, Tahlequah; Clark C. Hudson, Oklahoma City; E. D. Jones, Tulsa; Mrs. W. T. Leahy, Pawhuska; A. H. Probasco, Oklahoma City; O. K. Spurrier, Oklahoma City; E. E. Stephens, Seminole; C. J. Stewart, Oklahoma City; J. B. Tolson, Pawhuska; H. P. White, Pawhuska; Mrs. Charles E. Yager, Oklahoma City; John Steele McCormick, Oklahoma City; Dr. J. W. Whisenant, Duncan; Turner Van Nort, Oklahoma City; and Mrs. W. T. Ward, Oklahoma City.

Annual Corresponding: John L. Osborn, Corvallis, Oregon and Charles H. Roberts, Fort Worth, Texas.

Meeting then adjourned.

JOSEPH B. THOBURN, Secretary.

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